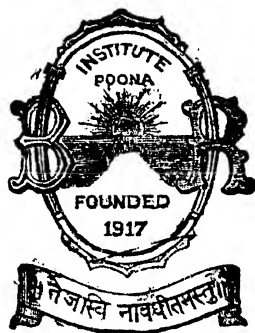


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Volume XXVI
1945**

EDITED BY

**Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

VOL. XXVI]

JANUARY-APRIL 1945

[PARTS I-II

SCIENCE IN RELATION TO SOCIETY *

BY

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR

Introductory

I must thank you sincerely for having invited me to speak here to-day. On this occasion I wish to pay my humble tribute to the memory of the late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar in whose name this Research Institute is founded, to the scholarly work which it is doing, and to the great scholars who are doing it. Their attempt to preserve, interpret, and bring to light our old but ever-new learning owes its inspiration to the great truths and teachings embodied in it.

The early creative mind of India is represented in the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the two historical epics, namely, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, each of them is unique in form and content, not easily paralleled in any other literature. They represent a fathomless spiritual insight at work, a subtle and intuitive vision, and a deep and clear, intellectual and ethical thinking and heroic action which has made the permanent structure of our culture and civilisation possible.

In the long course of our history and culture the literature which has inspired, guided, and controlled our life has been the Vedic and the Epic. Its moral and intellectual depth, its social and religious contents have been our priceless treasures and our

* This paper was read on 6th July 1945, the Foundation Day of the Institute.

eternal sources of national inspiration and action, greatness and glory.

But now we find that there is an apathy towards its study. There is a decided turn towards studying only modern new sciences—physical and technological, biological and sociological. If the old knowledge is studied it is studied only for its comparative or historical value. It is considered to belong to a bygone age and to possess hardly any contemporary value.

There are two questions to be asked here, (1) is the man of to-day superior intellectually and morally, and greater in social stature and economic happiness than the one of the Vedic and Epic or our classical age? and (2) are the sciences of to-day more advanced and determinate in their social direction and values?

A new era of planning or what I call "planarchy" is being ushered in by scientists and technologists, politicians and statesman to remove human misery and social anarchy in the old world of to-day and to build up a new world of to-morrow. In this, science, pure and applied, is going to play a dominating part in reorganising our material life and moral welfare. Our politicians are utilising the services of scientific experts in this matter. The problem before us is therefore can science alone secure these purposes without the help of ethics and religion which primarily give us our values of human life. Is the position of these planners who are devotees or advocates of science and who adopt an air of ethical superiority correct? Will science by itself give or lead us to ethical values and human welfare? Is it alone concerned with the welfare of humanity?

My argument may be summarised as follows. In the changing world of to-day there is a great moral gulf between the powers which scientific knowledge gives and the values which society pursues or ought to pursue. There is no balance between the power possessed and the good sought. This is what I want to show in my address to-day on "Science in relation to society".

Our world is a four-fold world—of science, morals, religious and art—which is ever changing and expanding. Unless

their interrelation is properly maintained, and a harmony between them is created in the process, our world will not be happy and rise in human stature.

Therefore I intend to examine the influence of science on social living, and also the nature and scope of social and natural sciences.

To-day we are living in a sick world. Can science alone help us out of it? Our needs are not only physical and mental, but also moral and spiritual. We have to harmonise them all. No doubt science has affected our outlook and judgment but its scope or province is limited. Its pointer readings are provisional and relative. There are values in life which are independent of science. They are given by other studies and inner experiences. Finally can science as such make a contribution to the good life of man?

Science in relation to Society

To-day under the name of science a number of pseudo social, sciences are developing and taking possession of society and trying to change or revolutionise it. They try to create a new historical science, a new ethical science, a new economic science, a new political science and a new social science based upon certain fundamental assumptions or ideas about matter and mind, body and soul, and the origin and development, the end and purpose, the causation and course of man and his institutions and beliefs. They increase flexibly the scope of science so as to include ethics, religion, art in it. They determine rigidly the course of its development so as to exclude other possibilities inherent or desirable in it. They put their own fixed values above truth or call them the truth.

They call the modern age as the regime or common-wealth of science which they believe is bound to lead us to a golden age in the future. I consider this view point as distorted and the "isms" which promote it and propagate it as perverting the view of science and the scope of knowledge and good given by it. Most of them are neither science, nor history nor sociology, and may be regarded as pseudo-scientific rubbish. They use the terminology of science merely to propagate their own dogmas. There seems nothing really scientific about them.

Science does not and cannot cover all the creative aspects, experience and aspirations of human life. It possesses no criteria to teach us the values of human life. If science claims that man can know and also direct and control his moral world or world destiny, there is no proof for it in 1945 nor was there before it. Nature is intrinsically and in its elements neither understandable nor subject to law, and science cannot discover any ultimates even in its own realm. The world can only be described as a ceaseless flow and fluctuation of an invisible force or tide. The world is not purely a world of reason. To-day social Darwinism is discredited, and pre-determined progressivism is considered wishful thinking. We cannot therefore treat history and sociology as merely biographies of certain ideas and laws, dogmas or beliefs nor as manifestations of certain social patterns and their wish for changes. All the 19th century sociologists and social evolutionists like Comte and Spencer, Marx and Morgan have committed this mistake. Actual historical sequences do not run true to any particular form or law. They are not their inevitable consequences. Their rigid concepts and dialectical dichotomies or patterns of natural and human life are very unscientific. Modern natural and human sciences are against these conceptual rigidities and dichotomies of nature and life.

They recognise that there are past facts and factors which are not as yet properly known, and there are present facts and factors which are new and unknown, therefore future facts and factors cannot be easily, completely or correctly known. Human thought can never exhaust the great reality and totality of time and space philosophical and historical which are themselves expanding.

Moreover, the psychical is not entirely under the heel or control of the physical causality. Psychical life is capable of continually forming new contents or taking leaps out of given elements by its power of intellectual analysis and creative synthesis. Man is not a generalised being. He is always something more, independent, unknown and unique. He is not a mere functionary. He stands on a midway between freedom and determinism. There is no such thing as dichotomy or antithesis between the individual and the society and its various changing groups.

We have to admit that a world of transcendental thought actually exists alongside the existence of the physical world, and there is something far more in the shape of values, essences, universals, than can be apprehended through empirical consciousness. We cannot presuppose the identity of the subject and the object which make dogmatic and materialistic philosophies of to-day possible, we do not believe in either the subject devouring the object as the idealist does or the object devouring the subject as the materialist does. Science through controlled description, experimentation and inference aims at logical and consistent hypotheses and generalisations or laws of behaviour. On their basis we are asked to predict and to control our behaviour. This has led to the development of the concept of types and patterns, ignoring the recognition of the unique and specific features of human behaviour. But the process of induction has a limited value. It can only generalise from a limited field of particulars. Therefore its general is also a generalised particular, and cannot be the universal. To-day there is a revolution in science. Matter in the sense of spatial substance has ceased to exist. Fundamental ideas of matter and motion have changed. Matter is alive, is energy. Matter-mind is considered as an inspired something in motion and action. Science is found unable to lead us to the knowledge of its substance. It is only a method of knowing its structure. It creates a conceptual model by which we briefly resume our experience of known facts. It cannot give us judgments of the reality but only of its relativity and relations. It merely gives us a concise statement of *how* changes are taking place. It cannot explain *why* they have taken place in particular ways. The aim of science is now ceasing to be the discovery of cause and effect, because the universe is being considered a sum of phenomena, some of which are more, others less, closely contingent on each other. This conception is wider than that of causality. Some assert that no phenomena are causal and all phenomena are contingent. The problem before us is therefore to measure the degree of this contingency which lies between the zero (individuality) of independence and the unity (commonness) of causation.

It is held to-day that beyond and superior to the physical world lies the world of value characterised by a spiritual unity which is absent from purely material phenomena. Therefore life can be understood only from the standpoint of values which are given by great or inspired men. The extrinsic analysis of science fails to differentiate between human values and environmental or structural relations, between thought as a function of society and thought as a function in society.

Science reasons from quantity, experience and commonness. It explains relations and processes and results in relative or rigid abstractions and generalisations. Scientific process as one puts it merely 'unifies', 'mobilises' and 'levels' what is observed and demonstrable. Moral process reasons from quality, experience and uniqueness. It gives concrete values, and by its valuational function 'divides', 'specialises' and 'arranges' in order of merit from what is experienced and unstandable. (Dilthey's *erlebnis* and *verstehen*).

Shall we start with a proposition like Rousseau's "Man is born like an animal but proposes to live as an angel." What should be his method? We shall have to find it out, with the help of the real knowledge of nature and of the actual life of man in history. Our knowledge is ever increasing and our life is ever expanding. There is no settled balance or harmony between the discoveries of one and the desires of the other. At present there has arisen a great moral gulf between the powers which knowledge gives and the purposes which our life pursues. To bridge it we cannot accept the easy and cheap unilinear solutions propounded by scientists and socialists as the last word of science or moral living. They prove to be inadequate, as they ignore some of the facts and values of life, distort others and fail to distinguish between the common and the unique.

We are today hearing the swan-song of a passing world, an age of definite values and untroubled certitudes. Each age has its dominant note and outlook, and its dominant interests and preoccupation. It has its own mentality and moral climate. But new facts and factors have arisen in our epoch. They are stubborn and living. Our new knowledge and experience, material

and mental, and our new views and values, moral and social, are all in conflict with the old order of knowledge and life. Our epoch is not homogeneous mentally and morally. There is a new revolution created by scientists and a new revelation propounded by socialists in both these spheres. A minority of scientists and socialists have ushered in a new era in technology and ideology, an epoch of new orders to be created in the material, mental and moral life of man. Science as a whole with its developments in physical, biological and psychological studies, and philosophy in its total valuations in the fields of anthropology, anthropogeography and sociology have both created a new world of natural powers and social values, which now require to be studied, correlated and harmonised for our good. This is what we mean by "Science in relation to Society."

Our scientific knowledge is new and advanced. Our social life has become close and complex. Therefore we have to adjust them both in the interests of the great society which is taking shape. But we must not start with fixed solutions and determinate laws. Whatever does not fit in their scheme we must not ignore, deride or discard. Ours is not an age of one-eyed reason and monocolled vision, ignoring the variety and depth of human life. We have to look to the facts of human sufferings and needs, and also to the demands of human nature and values, in order to estimate and to propose the course of life which we should follow. We are living today in a fourfold world of knowledge and action. It is a world of science with the powers and perils it generates, a world of morals with the loves and hatreds it harbours, a world of religion with the confidences and consolations it creates, and a world of arts and crafts with the intuition and cunning it possesses. Every aspect of our thought and life is subject to and surrounded by one or other of these worlds or even by all. The contents and drives of these worlds are ever increasing. Those with limited understanding and rigid out-look consider one or the other as more important, and their one or the other stage as more true, while the problem before humanity is to recognise, understand and experience their disciplines as a whole. It is one of the most difficult tasks which the leaders of human thought and life face today—the task of synthesizing and

harmonising their separate urges. We must postulate that the advance of humanity is not unilinear but multilinear, not through fixed but fluctuating stages, not under one discipline but many.

Can we demarcate the various aspects of human life and allot their fields exclusively to particular methods of study and approach, or can we treat the whole human life as one and allocate it either to religion, morals or science only to be studied and valued by it, or shall its various aspects be studied separately by different sciences and philosophies and also jointly by them and aiming at the highest ends of humanity.

Science has today influenced greatly our social thinking and social living. It has also affected our moral and religious attitudes. Pure sciences have changed our processes of our social thinking, and applied sciences our methods of social living. Mathematical, physical and biological sciences have discredited our mythologies of creation and credologies of this worldly and other worldly life. They have led to the growth of new social or human sciences whose methodology is based on those of natural sciences. No doubt, if we compare these sciences, the subdivisions of social sciences—sociology, anthropology, economics, politics, unlike those of natural sciences, seem largely, though not entirely, abstractions from reality, not sections of reality. In physical and biological sciences, physics, chemistry, botany and zoology, the objects of study such as elements plants, animals seem real and independent objects and groups. They are not aspects of something complex. They are real things. The subjects of social sciences are mostly aspects of and abstractions from social reality. Their study depends on the contents of those aspects and their relation to the whole social reality, and not upon merely its subdivisions or factors mapped out for the purposes of study. The problem of natural sciences is the problem of observation and experiment and a search for laws of behaviour or action of the objects of study. The problem of social sciences is the problem of understanding and experiencing the course and relation of social life and a search for its values in time, place and objective.

The natural scientist can stand outside his objects of observation. The social scientist must stand inside his subjects of study. Thus it is not possible to apply fully the methods of physical sciences to the study of man and society. But they give upto a certain stage great help in the study and analysis of human social processes and relations, mental attitudes and behaviours. In the natural sciences the aim is to bring certain qualities of as many objects as possible under the fewest possible generalisations. In these generalisations the objects are not explained in their individuality but in their resemblances and relations which they bear to one another. In humanistic studies where we deal with aspects of human life - individual and social - we are not dealing with general conceptions alone, but far more with values which are drawn from individual conceptions. We deal with what is individual and unique, with values of the unique, and with the meaning of the unique.

The contribution of science to our civilisation is very great. Its attitude and methodology, its outlook and technology have been great factors in its growth. It is due to it that our social current is moving so rapidly, taking new forms and contents, and growing broader and deeper towards a new humanity.

Our new world is a world of science and invention, technology and engineering. Science belongs to and can be appropriated by the whole world. Its methods and discoveries, products and processes can be understood and applied by all. It gives the same results everywhere objectively. It does not require any God to be pleased or any prophet to be admired. It does not lay down any frontiers, physical, mental, moral or cultural, for deriving its benefits. It primarily represents an attitude of mind a mood of approach, an experimental method, by which we discover and verify realities, organise ascertained facts in consistent groups, learn their structural relations, and ascertain their place in the larger scheme of knowledge.

Inspite of great advances in science we are living in a sick world today, a world of political anarchy and economic misery, social maladjustments and communal hatreds. We are all ailing and suffering from a number of evils. Our life and living are not happy and contented. Can science help us in promoting our

security and welfare ? Can it alone do it ? Science can give us scientific means and methodology, scientific spirit and attitude. Its service in the past has been great. We have advanced from a donkey-house civilisation where all was stable and unchanging, neither free nor equal, to a new monkey-house civilisation where everything seems to be unstable, free and in conflict. But still it is a progress to better forms of life and higher standards of living. But what worries us is the instability and anarchy in our life. If Science can lead us to a plan-key house civilisation where both order and progress, equality and freedom, on human scale are harmonised, then it will have done its work well. The human Caravan has no doubt passed through primitive stages of innocence and ignorance, and the medieval ages of blind faith and escapism, and has now reached the modern stage of science and its age of hope. Today in all arts of war and peace science reigns supreme. Science is not merely conserving our life and giving us minima of living, but is also helping us in achieving good life. Our problem is not only of mere physical existence and material welfare but also largely a problem of good life. Today our difficulties are those of choosing our moral aims and forming social relations. Unprecedented knowledge of Science and the power it has given over natural forces and human resources have created unprecedented conditions in human contact and relations. Unless there is a corresponding development in our moral attitude and mental approach, we cannot utilise the knowledge and power of science to cope with those conditions and to promote human security and welfare. Science must not only assure us conditions of physical and material security—food, housing, clothing, health and hygiene, but also insure means for our mental and moral welfare, education and co-operation, peace and progress. The new kingdom or order which Science wants to build up must understand our material needs, take account of our resources and apply them for our physical security as well as social welfare.

Our progress towards a higher standard of living depends on (1) our natural and human resources properly developed and applied, (2) our scientific inventions and technological applications, (3) our faith in the brotherhood of humanity as a whole,

in its unity and creativity, (4) our moral code of equality and freedom, and (5) our political system and economic advance. The fundamental facts of our world are its increasing population, its increasing want leading to unemployment and poverty in various areas, its social maladjustments and misappropriations, its increasing contacts, resulting in hatreds and crimes and its increasing fear and frustration, all these leading to an increase of human misunderstanding and hatreds, splits and conflicts. Our problems have therefore to be solved on three planes-material, moral and mental. History shows that Science, Ethics and Religion are the disciplines which are expected to suggest correct ways of doing this. No doubt fundamentally all social problems are interrelated, and all disciplines, scientific, moral and religious, are concerned with the choice of correct ways in a number of possibilities which are latent or open, or invented by man's mind. Science will become more important if it helps not only in the choice of means, but also that of ends which involve moral and mental judgments. Science primarily gives the means to control nature and to use it for human welfare. It assures the material foundations of our social well-being. It tries to solve the problem of our misery by providing means to cope with our wants.

But can it also provide solutions for the choice of moral ends, the betterment of human relations, and for the development of a will to live or a faith in the future.

Will Science satisfactorily answer, the questions of the good, the beautiful, the real as human quests, of human destiny and of man's rebirth, or life after death ? These questions have a spiritual value and require experience. Can Science also take the place of philosophy, art and religion ? Science at present does not acknowledge that the affairs of men are subject to any divine or transcendental power, or to any blind, benign or malign fatalism. Science believes in finding out empirically correct knowledge of natural and human behaviour and adopting it for controlling nature and guiding man. Science is confident that it can solve welfare questions and remove social maladjustments, if men accept the social habits of altruism and work, and the moral attitude of equality and brotherhood, and give up proper-

tiering and profiteering ways and aims. But these social and moral qualities are indicated and affirmed by ethics and religion. Science cannot analyse or prove them by its own methods of study. Thus our attitude in relation to social problems must be an ethico-religio-scientific attitude. But science even then will give its methodology to other disciplines, its spirit of unbiassed examination of facts of human experience and behaviour, and its critical judgment.

But all these disciplines with their different aims and approaches, fields and outlook should be harmonised and properly inter-related. If they claim to be true by themselves and are rigid in their attitudes, then human problems will become difficult to be solved. Man acquires knowledge not only through reason, experiment and nature, but also through intuition, experience and history. His problem is not merely of action but also of valuation and will-power. Science studies nature and tells us how to live with it. Morals study man and society and tells us how to live in it. Religion studies the creation of nature and the course of man, and gives us a will to live. Each of them influences man's life as a whole. But if each of them propounds rigid ways not in harmony with one another, then a fundamental conflict within social life will be created and none of them will solve satisfactorily human problems. Therefore our problem is one of synthesis and harmony. We have to render to each of them their due, but not to surrender to one at the cost of the other or of the whole. Science and technology give physical welfare. Ethical valuation gives moral stability. Religious intuition gives faith in life and will to live. Our postulate is that every detail of human life is extremely complicated. It is connected with every other detail by innumerable threads of habit and custom and ideas of good and evil, and by economic interest and emotional feeling. Hence all the disciplines which can guide and control them are necessary. Science gives utilities for human welfare - such as health and hygiene, longevity and livelihood, leisure and recreation. Morals promote qualities of human happiness such as liberty, equality, and fraternity; justice and toleration, truth and non-violence, chastity and greedlessness. Religion creates a faith and will to live by expounding the reality in and behind life and universe.

Though science does not contribute directly to the determination of values of life, it does great service by providing the conditions and laying down the foundation of a better world order and higher human values. In creating a better economic life and in assuring higher standards of living and leisure it makes the realisation of moral and religious values on a large scale possible.

Thus we are living today in the republic of Science and technology which makes human cultural contacts more intimate, easy and expansive. It gives better environment, better means of livelihood, housing and clothing, better protection against natural calamities and diseases, better health and hygiene, better means of conveyance and communication. It widens the means of self-expression and education, and opportunities for service and vocation. It increases our understanding of the world, tells us of different types of human societies and of the unity of mankind and of its continuity, diffusion and fusion in space, time and culture. It transcends the barriers of race, language, region and religion in its sweep in a search for knowledge. It gives a methodology of open approach to knowledge and throws open its doors to all those who seek its shelter and admission. It does not build a mystic house or prison round its knowledge and ways of life. Thus the republic of science is the most advanced commonwealth of mind without any particular territory, without standing armies and without secret diplomacy. Yet it possesses the most powerful government in the world. Without science and scientists the modern civilisation will collapse.

It has ushered in new ways of life and new means of living. It has increased production, developed communication, adjusted distribution and provided for consumption by its new mechanical inventions, technical appliances and engineering skill. It has affected our mental, moral and cultured outlook and trained our judgment for choice of right relations of life and correct ways of behaviour. It has given a new forward look and useful knowledge about many questions of our life. It has done away with the age of superstition. It has removed the peril of being subjugated by less civilised neighbours of being overwhelmed by

hordes of barbarian invaders. It has introduced secularisation and rationalisation. It has improved the life of common man. It has freed, educated and inspired mankind. It has expanded the individual and his field of activity and contact, his understanding and knowledge by its inventions, new tools and mechanical processes.

In spite of the value of Science as the main foundation of modern civilisation, its scope is limited. It can analyse relations not reality, structure and not substance of life. It can give pointer-readings but not life values. It can show natural sequences but cannot estimate social consequences. Further the 20th century developments of Science have shaken its principle of causality and predictability. They do not claim any certainty, determinism or infallibility for their statements and conclusions. All aspects of man's life and of natural phenomena are not as yet understandable, predictable and controllable. They cannot be studied and understood merely as isolates and their totality is too complex to be clearly envisaged and fully analysed. Consequently the truth and laws of science are also becoming provisional and relative.

As scientific methods cannot comprehend and explain values, such as goodness, freedom, and love, some scientists say there are no values, no goodness, no freedom, no love and so on. To them these things do not exist. With them the object has devoured the subject. The man, the mind, the spirit, the morals have all withered away along with any transcendent God. Therefore the conception and content of science, its explanations and conclusions should not be considered as rigid and final, but only relative and provisional. Its mechanical aspect, its cause and effect relations should not be overemphasized. It must take account of moral and religious limitations of the people in using its power and making its application to promote their ends. Science must become and remain an ally or handmaid in the task of achieving highest human values and not prostitute its power and skill for narrow and selfish group interests. It must promote political integration, social welfare and economic opportunity and cultural progress.

We must however, avoid the danger of the power of science falling into the hands of monsters of men and nations who are not ministers of peoples, security and welfare. Otherwise a new barbarism more dangerous and disastrous to humanity than the old will develop and devour men and destroy the very foundations of human civilisation. Scientists must be able to control the forces they have let loose. Otherwise the new *Bhāsmāsura* of science will destroy the scientist and his creation, the new civilisation. Science has out-stripped the advance of human morals. The growth of its power is not accompanied by a corresponding growth in morals and culture of humanity. There is a disharmony and want of balance between them. Our moral and cultural lag has allowed the power of Science being used by imperialists and capitalists for aggrandisement and exploitation of the disinherited peoples and workers of the world. Science must be accompanied by a high moral sense of duty and cultural discipline and responsibility. Uncontrolled science would be a great danger to humanity and its civilisation.

The social results of scientific development are very great. It has given us a conception of one world, one humanity, and a universal society, by developing rapid means of communication, transport and close contact, and by opening the doors of all countries and regions to all peoples. It has developed a law of evolution and convergence of cultures. It has perfected a method of observation, experiment and study and has given a breadth of outlook, a tolerance of opinion, a sense of cooperation and a measure of detached judgment and impersonalness which are very valuable not only for acquiring knowledge but also for our moral living and for our will-to-live. It has enormously increased our control and use of natural forces and satisfied our increasing material needs. It has set us on the path of assured material progress and mental achievement. It has minimised the sacredness of particular persons and the despotism of authority. It has changed values of life, if it has not been able to estimate values of life. It does not prepare any Procrustean bed of determinism for man's guidance like any religion or "ism". It does not make facts fit any preconceived theory of its own, because it has no preconceptions. Huxley said "Science commits suicide when it adopts a creed."

The results of scientific research are now being applied to practical affairs and are profoundly changing our civilisation and affecting human happiness.

Science makes possible the material welfare of man. Can it also make a contribution to the good life of man? Science tries primarily to find out the nature, the character and the direction of the evolutionary process in the world as a whole, and also to elucidate the causes of human actions and their consequences in relation to that direction. But there is nothing in the results of science today for us to believe that it can guarantee to us the absolute stability of even the most general laws that it has stated. The central problem of good life seems to be difficult to be solved only by methods and direction given by natural and social sciences. They can throw light on the way in which the mind of man can apprehend values, but they cannot determine whether they are truly values and what the scale of moral values is. If the development of moral values was to be determined wholly by external conditions, and they did not depend for their appreciation and choice on internal factors, then any true law of science—rational or dialectical—could give us a scheme and scale of good values of life. But as the environment influences life so also the inner ideas, feelings and attitudes greatly mould our life. If it is true to say that societies create ideas, it is even more true to say that ideas change societies. The theory of evolution seems to suggest that its course is towards some complex forms of life and that all moral ideas are primarily relative. But in that process *who* chooses some of these and rejects others unless it is the inner moral consciousness of man. Can the scientific study of the world process teach us what is good and what we ought to do. Science cannot say that it is moral or immoral. Its characterisation can only be a-moral. It cannot even predict and say it 'will' or 'must' happen. It can tell us only what has been, what is, and what will probably and not certainly be. It also cannot tell us that what has been, is, and will be right and good. We have to recognise the presence and force of inner factors which are inspiring and determining in the choice of values and ways of life. Our life can be really understood in terms of values, not merely in terms of its various stages and factors. These values constitute various types—such as the scientific, the moral, the religious, the aesthetic. Each one

of these types shows a particular structure of the human mind or quest. The man dedicates himself to one or more of these types. Therefore a time has now arrived for creating a closer union of the achievements of knowledge and the values of life. Science, morals, religion and art must give more help in the development of the deep and universal elements of our personality. All these branches of knowledge have at present developed a one-sided approach and atmosphere and hardly any attempt has been made to connect the whole knowledge and experience with actual values and intuitions of human life. The most disturbing fact of our time is that our knowledge of Science and especially its practical applications have far outrun our conceptions and practices of good life. Science has now placed great means and instruments of world-shaking, world-shocking and world-shaping power in the hands of our political rulers and economic power-holders who abuse them for their own unrighteous purposes of subjection and exploitation. These means and tools are in themselves non-moral. We need not blame the science, but the man who uses them or the scientist who prostitutes them. Thus morality or the will to good lies in the man himself. It is due to his choice of wrong ends and misuse of good means that the will to evil or immorality arises. It is not the province of science to tell us whether the means and ends adopted are good or bad morally.

Then, who are the real authors of any ethical change or choice? Certainly they are not found in the environmental change or mutation, but in the ethical choice and rise of men. It is a Buddha or a Christ, a Krishna or a Muhammad, a Tolstoy or a Gandhi who points the way to new levels of conduct and new standards of value, and it is by a conscious choice and struggle under his leadership that humanity accepts them. It cannot be admitted that the course or direction of evolution is inevitably good or right. We do not and cannot know that its goal is also good. One cannot trace in it any particular purpose which is continuously and necessarily good. We cannot postulate any materialistic inexorable or moral determinism in it. We cannot consider human mind as merely a mechanism of stimulus and response. It also holds within itself a set of urges or drives. Any one of them may be set in motion and come forward to change

the ethical or social current. Therefore the theory of evolution and its moving towards a right direction achieving good all along becomes a myth from the social point of view. The theory of social Darwinism is now completely discredited, and discarded. Science may tell us what to do to reach a desired end or to achieve a desirable purpose. But it cannot point out to us what end to desire. It cannot guide us in the choice of our purpose. Science is the expression of our will to know our environment (of the past) - its causation, course, connection and consequence. It invents the means to know it and tools to use it for our physical existence and material welfare. Morals are the expression of will to good life (in the present) - its behaviour and relations. It lays down the principles of good conduct. Religion is the expression of our will to live creative life (in the future) - its consciousness and continuity. It lays down its affirmations and prohibitions of spiritual life. Art is the expression of our will to feel the eternal - its beauty and enjoyment. It gives us its impressions and creations of the reality.

But if we confuse the separate spheres and functions of these and surrender to any one discipline the whole province of human life and its aspirations, then we create a conflict of means and values in our study of man and environment. We must study and express these aspects, - will-to-know, will-to-good, will-to-live, and will-to-feel, - separately and then correlate and synthesize their directions for the existence and welfare of man.

In early times religion absorbed or dominated all aspects, and laid down rules for human behaviour from the point of view of its own approach. It became science, morals, art and religion, all in one. Then these aspects were separated. But still each one of them claimed dominance for its own approach and methods of life. Science now wants to reject all other approaches in order to absorb them in its universal approach and to lay down its own rules for the discipline and welfare of life. It wants to drive all others out of the field. In this unity of approach, either the subject devours the object, or the object devours the subject. Science now wants to tell us not only about the means i. e. - how values or ends can be achieved, but also about the ends i. e. - how to

choose our values, and what values are valid. No doubt knowledge of ourselves and of our environment has in itself both a moral significance and a social consequence. It will however only help us in our choice of values and not in their final determination. Science gives survival means in a natural environment ; ethics, moral values in a social environment ; and religion, a spiritual faith in physical and social environment (man and nature). If their discoveries and disciplines are properly correlated and harmonised, we shall understand the field and position of each, and the part they play in the stability, security and well being of human society has a whole.

Thank you

HISTORICAL DATA IN DAṆḌIN'S

DAŚAKUMĀRARARITA

BY

V. V. MIRASHI

Nearly forty years ago Mark Collins drew attention to the narrative in the eighth *Ucchvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracarita* which pointed to the existence of a large southern power ruling over Vidarbha, with no fewer than six feudatory kingdoms owing allegiance to it.¹ Collins saw in this a reflex of the actual conditions existing in the days of Daṇḍin himself and therefore investigated the matter for fixing the date of that Sanskrit author. Since then there has been considerable progress in our knowledge of the ancient history of India in general and of the Deccan in particular, which makes it necessary that the problem should be rediscussed in the light of recent researches.

As is well known, the *Daśakumāracarita* describes the adventures of ten Kumāras who were followers of Rājavāhana, the son of the dethroned king Rājahamśa of Magadha. One of them was Viśruta whose adventures are narrated in the eighth and last *Ucchvāsa* of the original work of Daṇḍin. The story of that chapter may be summarised as follows—

‘In the country of Vidarbha there ruled a king named Pūṣya-varman who belonged to the ancient Bhoja race. He was a very just and righteous king who protected his subjects, chastised his foes and gave liberal patronage to learned men. He was succeeded by his young son Anantavarman. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the science of politics. Vasurakṣita, the old minister who had been highly respected by his father, counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of *daṇḍanīti*, but Anantavarman, coming under the evil influence of his courtier Vihārābhadrā, treated the advice with contempt, gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and

¹ Mark Collins—*Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita* (1907), p. 21.

indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of State. His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life. As a consequence, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity, Vasantabhānu, the king of the neighbouring Āsmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha. The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, Vasantabhānu instigated the king of Vanavāsī to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. Anantavarman then mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his help. Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides Vasantabhānu of Āsmaka, Avantideva of Kuntala, Virasena of Murala, Ekavīra of Ṛṣika, Kumāragupta of Koṅkaṇa and Nāgapāla of Nāsikya. Followed by these feudatories, Anantavarman marched against the king of Vanavāsī and encamped on the bank of the Varadā.¹ Vasantabhānu, however, secretly conspired with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked Anantavarman in the rear while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāsī. The king of Vidarbha was killed in the fight. Vasantabhānu then contrived to cause dissension among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the king of Vanavāsī, induced him to return to his country and himself annexed the whole kingdom of Vidarbha.

In the meanwhile the old minister Vasurakṣita, who was true to his salt, safely escorted Vasundharā, the queen of Ananta

¹ The Bombay Sanskrit Series edition of the *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 138) states that the army was encamped on the Narmadā which is evidently incorrect. As shown below, Vanavāsī, the well-known capital of the Kadambas, was situated in the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency. The ruler of Vanavāsī could not have penetrated to the Narmadā, without overrunning the entire Vidarbha which he had not evidently done. I therefore accept the reading *Varadā-rodhasi* (in place of *Narmadā-rodhasi*) given by an old Ms., which is evidently a mistake for *Varadā-rodhasi* 'on the bank of the Wardhā' (see Agashe's ed. p. 138, n.). Since this was written, my friend Mr. P. K. Gode informs me that the reading *Varadā-rodhasi* is actually given by an old Ms. of the work, dated V. S. 1816, now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute.

varman and her two children Bhāskaravarman and Mañjuvādinī to the court of Mitravarman, the half-brother of Anantavarman who was ruling at Māhiṣmatī. The latter, finding that his advances were rejected by the queen, suspected that she wanted her son to inherit the kingdom of Māhiṣmatī. He therefore desired to kill the young prince. The latter, however, escaped with the help of a trusted old servant and while roaming through a Vindhya forest chanced to meet Viśruta who turned out to be his relative. Viśruta then vowed that he would exterminate the king of Āśmaka and place Bhāskaravarman on his ancestral throne. He then disguised himself and Bhāskaravarman as Kāpālikas and repaired to Māhiṣmatī. There he killed Pracaṇḍavarman, the brother of Caṇḍavarman, the king of Mālava, who had come there to marry Mañjuvādinī. Viśruta also contrived to cause Mitravarman's death by means of a poisonous garland. He then married Mañjuvādinī and looked after the affairs of State in the kingdom of Māhiṣmatī on behalf of Bhāskaravarman'.

Daṇḍin's narrative ends here abruptly. So we do not know whether Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow by destroying Vasantabhānu and placing Bhāskaravarman on the throne of Vidarbha.¹

The narrative sketched above points to the existence of a large southern Empire. The Emperor belonged to the ancient lineage of Bhoja. He ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprised modern Berar, the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and the portion of the Nizam's State north of the Godāvari. The kingdom of Anūpa, whose capital was Māhiṣmatī was incorporated with that of Vidarbha and was ruled by the emperor's half-brother. Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms viz., Kuntala, Āśmaka, Rājika, Murala, Nāsikya and Koṅkaṇa. Of these Kuntala comprised the upper valley of the Kṛṣṇā and included the modern Southern Maratha Country and Kanarese districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Its northern limit was probably the Godāvari.² This seems to have been a powerful kingdom, for Vasantabhānu wanted

¹ The *Uttarapīṭhikā* which completes the story states that Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow, but this work is very late.

² A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, p. 40.

to enlist its ruler's support to his plot before he approached other feudatories. Āśmaka which figures very prominently in the story comprised, according to the *Suttanipāṭa*, the country along the bank of the Godāvarī. Rṣika which is mentioned together with Vidarbha, Āśmaka and Anūpa in the Epics and inscriptions, could have been none other than the modern district of Khandesh as shown by me elsewhere.¹ Āśmaka and Rṣika were thus contiguous countries and were separated from each other by the Ajaṇṭā or Sātmālā range. Murala was perhaps the country watered by the Muralā which figures in the *Uttararāmacarita* as a tributary of the Godāvarī. Nāsikya was of course the country round Nasik in the Bombay Presidency. Koṅkara is the well-known name of the strip of land between the western sea and the Sahyādri mountain.

The Empire of Anantavarman therefore extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tūṅgabhadra in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Vaingāṅgā in the East. Beyond the frontiers of this kingdom lay the powerful kingdom of Mālava in the North, that of Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh) in the East and of Vanavāsī (modern Banvāsī in North Kānara) in the South. Mālava and Kosala appear to have been friendly to Vidarbha; the latter was even matrimonially allied with it. Vanavāsī, however, seems to have been hostile.

Mark Collins showed that this state of things existed only in the sixth century A. D. under the rule of the Vākātakas. When he wrote, the chronology of the Vākātakas was very uncertain. Owing to the mistaken identification of Devagupta mentioned in Vākātaka land-grants with the homonymous king who belonged to the dynasty of the Later Guptas,² the Vākātakas were believed to have flourished in the eighth century A. D. It redounds to the credit of Collins that he did not subscribe to the prevalent view, but independently evaluated the evidence and showed that the Vākātakas flourished in the Gupta age – a conclusion which has since been incontrovertibly proved by the discovery of the Poona

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 168.

² This identification was first proposed by Dr. Fleet and was accepted by Dr. Kielhorn. Dr. Bühler, however dissented from it and placed the Vākātakas in the 5th century A. D.

plates of Prabhāvatiguptā; for they show that Devagupta was another name of Candragupta II. In some other respects, however, Collin's conclusions were erroneous, based as they were on insufficient data.¹ We shall therefore review the history of the age to see what particular period of the Vākāṭaka rule is reflected in Daṇḍin's narrative.

We must remember at the outset that we must not expect to find the names of historical personages in this narrative. Like his predecessor Kālidāsa and his successors Rājasekhara and Padmagupta,² Daṇḍin has plainly changed the names of the characters who figure in the story. But in other respects his narrative may be expected to contain a reflex of the historical events.

Let us first take a brief survey of Vākāṭaka history. Towards the close of the third century A. D. the Vākāṭakas had a fairly extensive empire in the Deccan. Pravarasena I who was the real founder of Vākāṭaka power, is said to have performed four Aśvamedhas besides several other Śrauta sacrifices. He had four sons among whom, according to the Purāṇas,³ his extensive empire was divided after his death. The eldest branch held northern Vidarbha and ruled first from Nandivardhana near Rāmtek (ancient Rāmagiri) in the Nagpur District and afterwards from Pravarapura which has not yet been identified, but which may be Paunar in the Wardhā District. The second branch ruled over southern Vidarbha from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District. The other two branches may have ruled to the south of

¹ For instance, Collins thought that the Vākāṭakas rose to power in circa A. D. 400 and flourished till A. D. 600 and that they were connected with the Western Ksatrapas who disappear from history towards the close of the 4th century A. D. He also identified Prthiviṣeṇa whose feudatory Vyāghradeva's inscription was found at Nachna, with the first Vākāṭaka prince of that name. In all these respects his conclusions have been proved to be erroneous.

² I have shown elsewhere that Kālidāsa's play *Mālavikāgnimitra* reflects the matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. See my Marathi book, *Kālidāsa*, pp. 144 f. For the historical data in Rājasekhara's *Viddhaśālabaṇjikā* and Padmagupta's *Navasahasāṅkacarita*, see my articles in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

³ See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kuli Age*, p. 50.

the Godāvari, but their records have not yet been discovered. They seem to have been crushed out of existence by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which rose in Southern Mahārāṣṭra in the last quarter of the 4th century A. D.¹

The eldest branch produced several kings the best known of whom is Pravarasena II, the daughter's son of Candragupta II-Vikramāditya and the reputed author of the Prakrit kāvya *Setubandha*. During the reign of Prṭhiviṣeṇa II this branch extended its sway to the north of the Narmadā as some stone inscriptions of this king's feudatory Vyāghradeva, who is plainly identical with the Uchhakalpa king Vyāghra, have been found in the Jaso and Ajayagadh States in Central India.² This branch seems to have come to an end soon after Prṭhiviṣeṇa II who is the last king known from inscriptions.

The Vatsagulma branch also produced some great kings whose names are known from an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajañṭā. The last of them known so far was Hariṣeṇa (A. D. 475-500). He was a very powerful and ambitious ruler. He appears to have annexed Northern Vidarbha after the death of Prṭhiviṣeṇa II and either raided or exacted tribute from the rulers of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosalā, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra.³ It was during his reign that three of the most beautiful caves at Ajañṭā viz. caves XVI, XVII and XIX, as well as the Ghaṭotkaca cave at Gulwādā were excavated and decorated.

The description of Hariṣeṇa's conquests in the Ajañṭā inscription shows that his empire extended beyond the Narmadā in the North and the Kṛṣṇā in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. The Vākāṭaka power crumbled soon after Hariṣeṇa, for no successor of his is known from inscriptions. The circumstances which caused the sudden downfall of such a powerful empire have not been recorded in

¹ See my article 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 233; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

³ The names of these countries occur in a mutilated verse in ll. 14-15 in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajañṭā, in connection with the description of the conquests of Hariṣeṇa.

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

history. The eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita*, if properly interpreted, may throw welcome light on this question.¹

The *Daśakumāracarita* names Puṇyavarman and his son Anantavarman as kings of Vidarbha and Mitrevārman as the ruler of Māhishmatī. All these belonged to the ancient Bhoja race. The ancient history of Vidarbha, known so far, discloses no such dynasty of Varman kings. The Vākātakas, who alone could have been meant here, had their names ending in *senā*. The names of the characters in the *Daśakumāracarita* are therefore purposely changed. Again, the Vākātakas nowhere in their records connect themselves with the ancient Bhoja race. The Cammaka plates² of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II no doubt mention Bhojakāṭarājya as a territorial division of Vidarbha, from which Collins has inferred that the Vākātakas called themselves Bhojas and ruled from Bhojakāṭa, but the inference does not appear to be justifiable. It is not however unlikely that the Vākātakas who ruled over Vidarbha, the land of the Bhojas, may have been popularly supposed to be of the Bhoja race. The commentator of the *Setubandha*, has recorded the tradition that Pravarasena, the author of that *Kāvya*, was, according to some, called Bhojadeva.³

The *Daśakumāracarita* mentions several feudatories of Anantavarman and therefore of his father Puṇyavarman whom we have identified with Hariṣeṇa. Let us see if any of them are known from other sources to have acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Vidarbha.

1 Vasantabhānu of Āsmaka - Āsmaka, as already stated, was the name of the country between the Sātmālā range and the Godāvarī river. In the recently discovered Pāṇḍarāṅgapallī plates it is mentioned together with Vidarbha as conquered by Mānāṅka of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and may have been in subordinate

¹ Mark Collins thought that the political condition described in the *Daśakumāracarita* existed before the time of Hariṣeṇa; for Daṇḍin describes Kuntala as a feudatory kingdom, while in the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions it is said to have been conquered by Hariṣeṇa, which shows that it was independent. See his *Geographical Data* etc., p. 46. The argument does not appear convincing.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235 ff.

³ Cf. *Pravaraseno Bhojadeva iti kecit* in the com. on v. 9.

alliance with the former. No records of the ruling family have yet been discovered, but that Āsmaka was ruled as a separate country in the 6th century A. D. is shown by an inscription of that age in Cave XXVI at Ajaṇṭā which names two ministers of the rulers of Āsmaka.

2 Avantideva of Kuntala - I have shown elsewhere that contemporary with the Vākātakas there was a dynasty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruling over the country of Kuntala which comprised the upper valley of the Kṛṣṇā. Their capital was Mānapura, modern Mān on the Mān river in the Sātārā District, which was founded by Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the family. The country of Kuntala was conterminous with Vīdarbha and therefore its rulers often came into conflict with the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma.¹ The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā records two victories of the Vākātakas over the kings of Kuntala, the first during the reign of Sarvasena and the second during that of Hariṣeṇa.² The king of Kuntala must have been smarting under the defeat inflicted by Hariṣeṇa and therefore must have welcomed the opportunity to throw off the Vākāṭaka yoke during the reign of Hariṣeṇa's weak successor.

3 Ekavīra of Rṣika - Rṣika, as stated above, was the ancient name of the modern Khandesh District. As I have shown elsewhere³ from some copper-plate grants discovered in Khandesh, there was a feudatory family ruling over this country in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Its capital was Valkha which I have identified with Vāghlī near Chālisgaon. A large, but sadly mutilated, inscription in cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā mentions a long line of twelve princes which, from their names, appears to have been connected with the family ruling at Vāghlī. The last of these princes, being very much grieved by the death of his younger brother, caused the caves XVII and XIX to be excavated at Ajaṇṭā 'while Hariṣeṇa, the moon among princes, was ruling the earth.' The mention of the Vākāṭaka ruler clearly indicates that this ruler of Rṣika was his feudatory.

¹ See my article 'the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,' *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

² Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14), pp. 4 ff.

³ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159f.

4 Nāgapala of Nāsikya—This prince probably belonged to the royal family of the Traikūṭakas who are known from their inscriptions and coins to have held Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Southern Gujarat in the fifth century A. D. The Traikūṭakas at first owned the supremacy of the Ābhīras whose era they use in their inscriptions, but later on they became independent, for one of them, Dahrasena, (circa A. D. 450-75) performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Harīṣeṇa claims to have defeated the ruler of Trikūṭa who was probably Vyāghrasena, for a copper-plate grant of the latter is dated K. 241 (A. D. 490). Trikūṭa, from which the royal family took its name, was the range of hills which bordered the Nāsik District on the west. The recently discovered Añjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti mention *Pūrva-Trikūṭa-viṣaya* or Eastern Trikūṭa District¹ which shows plainly that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts.

5 Kumāragupta of Koṅkaṇa—The early history of Koṅkaṇa is still uncertain for want of contemporary inscriptions. The country was occupied by the Śakas and Sātavāhanas in the early centuries of the Christian era, but who succeeded them is not yet definitely known. In K. 245 (A. D. 494) Koṅkaṇa was under the rule of the Traikūṭakas, for a copper-plate of that year which was discovered in the Stūpa at Kānheri mentions 'the increasingly victorious rule of the Traikūṭakas'. Perhaps the ruler of Koṅkaṇa, whoever he was, at first owed allegiance to the Traikūṭakas, but submitted to the Vākāṭakas when they vanquished the Traikūṭakas.

6 Virasena of Murala—As shown above, the country of Murala may have been situated not far from the bank of the Godāvari, but we have no knowledge of any dynasty ruling there.

We have thus seen that all these feudatories were ruling either to the west or to the south of Vidarbha. Harīṣeṇa claims to have conquered the eastern kingdoms of Kalinga, Kosala and Āndhra also, but none of these are mentioned in the story probably because they did not join Vasantabhānu's conspiracy. Two of these were probably relatives of the Vākāṭaka king. The *Daśakumāracarita*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 232.

states that Anantavarman's mother was the daughter of the king of Kosala i. e., Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Chhattisgarh. That the ruler of Kosala had submitted to the Vākātakas is known also from the incomplete Bālāghāt plates of Prthiviṣeṇa II. The contemporary ruler probably belonged to the so-called dynasty of Śarabhapura¹. The Āndhra king who may have belonged to the Viṣṇukunḍin family, was also matrimonially connected with the Vākātakas, for Madhavavarman I who laid the foundation of Viṣṇukunḍin power, in the Āndhra country, married a Vākātaka princess who was probably a descendant of Hariseṇa himself.

The *Daśakumāracarita* mentions, besides these feudatory states, the kingdoms of Māhiṣmatī and Mālava in the North and that of Vanavāsi in the South. The country of Anūpa of which Māhiṣmatī was the capital, comprised the territory corresponding to the Nemād district of the Central provinces. Of this country too we have little information, but from two copper-plate grants discovered in the Barwāni and Gwalior States² we learn that a king named Subandhu was ruling at Māhiṣmatī in the fifth century A. D. for one of the grants is dated in the (Kalacuri) year 167 (A. D. 416-17). He does not appear to have belonged to the Vākātaka family. Afterwards the country may have been annexed to the Vākātaka dominion and placed under a member of the royal family.

Caṇḍavarman of Mālava—This country was then ruled by a very powerful ruler who may have been Yaśodharman of Mandasore, the famous vanquisher of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The Mandasore stone pillar inscription of this king states that his empire extended over a very wide country extending from the Himālayas and the Brahmaputrā in the North of the Arabian Sea and the Mahendra mountain in the South.

Bhānuvarman of Vanavāsi—Vanavāsi, also called Vaijayantī, (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District), was the capital

¹ I have shown elsewhere that the so called kings of Śarabhapura flourished in circa 500-530 A. D., see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261ff. and *An. Rep.* of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State for 1928-29, p. 15. The editor of the Barwāni plates refers this date to the Gupta era, but the general resemblance of this grant to those of the kings of Valkha (A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, pp. 162f.) leaves no doubt that like the latter it also is dated in the so-called Kalacuri Cedi era of A. D. 249-50.

of the Kadambas. Kadamba chronology is still uncertain, but that there was a powerful kingdom of the Kadambas in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. is undeniable. The last king of the main line was Harivarman whose Sāngoli plates seem to have been issued either in A. D. 526 or A. D. 545. His father was Ravi-varman who may have been identical with Bhānuvarman¹ mentioned in the *Daśakumāracarita*.

The description in the *Daśakumāracarita* is thus corroborated in all important details by what we know about the history of the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. It clearly suggests that the central power in the Vākāṭaka Empire became weak and feudatories began to show signs of revolt during the reign of Hariṣeṇa's weak successor who led a dissolute life. There were chaos and confusion everywhere in the Vākāṭaka kingdom which ultimately led to an invasion by the Kadambas of Vanavāsi at the instigation of the ruler of Āsmaka. Owing to the treacherous defection of some other feudatories the Vākāṭaka king suffered a disastrous defeat and was killed in the fight. The Āsmaka king then annexed Vidarbha to his kingdom. As Daṇḍin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Bhāskaravarman whom we have identified with Hariṣeṇa's grandson, regained the ancestral throne with external help. But even if he did, he could not have kept it long. And this is what actually happened; for within about fifty years of Hariṣeṇa's death, Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalacuris who had, in the meanwhile, established themselves at Māhismati. Silver coins of Kṛṣṇarāja (circa A. D. 550-575), the founder of Kalacuri power, have been discovered in the Amraoti District of Berar and the Betul District of the Central Provinces. From some other indications² also we can infer that Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalacuris during the time of Kṛṣṇarāja.

¹ There was actually a prince named Bhānuvarman of the Kadamba family at this time, but he was not the ruling king as required. He was the brother of the then ruling king Ravivarman. See his Halsi grant dated in the 11th year of Ravivarman's reign. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 28.

² As I have shown elsewhere (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 43.) the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who later on established themselves at Acala-pura (modern Ellichpur) in Berar, copy certain expressions from the description of Kṛṣṇarāja in the grants of the Kalacuris which plainly shows that Kṛṣṇarāja had occupied Vidarbha.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Daṇḍin's narrative faithfully reflects the actual political situation in the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Such detailed knowledge of the different kingdoms flourishing in that age clearly indicates that Daṇḍin must have lived at a time when the events described by him happened or were at least well remembered.

The date of Daṇḍin has long been a matter of keen controversy. Some have placed him in the sixth century A. D., others in the 9th and some others in the 11th century A. D.¹ As shown above, the political conditions described in the eighth *Ucchvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracarita*, obtained in Viḍarbha only in the sixth century A. D. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhiṣmati, Bādāmi, Mānyakheṭa, and Kalyāṇi but it was never in Viḍarbha. Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times. One such instance is that of Rājka. This country is named in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* as well as in the Nāsik cave inscription of Puṣumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions. All these indications point to the conclusion that Daṇḍin must have flourished not long after A. D. 550.

The recently discovered Sanskrit works *Avantisundarikathā* and *Avantisundarikathāsūtra* contained some interesting information about the ancestry and personal history of Daṇḍin, but both these works are unfortunately fragmentary. The latter work, however, states that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmodara who was patronised by the Gāṅga king Durvinita and the Pallava ruler Śimhaviṣṇu. Dāmodara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D. His great-grandson Daṇḍin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A. D. It has been doubted whether the author of the *Avantisundarikathā* was identical with Daṇḍin who wrote the *Daśakumāracarita*, but it is conceded even by those who doubt this identity that the biographical details about Daṇḍin given in the aforementioned works may be correct². Daṇḍin thus may have flourished nearly a hundred years after the fall of the Vākātakas. It is not therefore unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the last period of Vākāṭaka rule in Viḍarbha.

¹ See Agashe's introduction in his edition of the *Daśakumāracarita* (Bom. Sansk. Series), p. xxxviii. ² See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, p. 403.

THE NARASIMHA-PURĀṆA

By

R. C. HAZRA

The present *Narasimha-purāṇa*,¹ which is also called *Nṛsimha-* (or *Nārasimha-*) *purāṇa*, is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It begins with a salutation to Narasimha and states that once, in the month of Māgha, some Veda-knowing sages came with their disciples to Prayāga from different parts of India (viz., Himālaya, Naimiṣāranya, Arbudāranya, Puṣkarāranya, Mahendra mountain, Vindhya mountain, Dharmāranya, Daṇḍakāranya, Śrīśaila, Kurukṣetra, Kaumāra-parvata, Pampā, etc.), had their bath in the holy Ganges, and saw Bharadvāja in his hermitage. When, after mutual greetings, they were engaged in 'talks about Kṛṣṇa' (*kṛṣṇāśritāḥ kathāḥ*), there arrived a Sūta named Lomahaṛṣaṇa, who was a disciple of Vyāsa and was versed in the Purāṇas (*purāṇajña*). After Lomahaṛṣaṇa had been duly received by the sages, Bharadvāja thanked him for having narrated to them the 'Saṁhitā named Vārāha' (i. e. the *Vārāha-purāṇa*) during the great sacrifice instituted by Śaunaka, and then, wishing to hear from him the 'Paurāṇa-saṁhitā named Nārasimha', put to him the following questions for detailed treatment:

- (1) Whence did this universe, with its moving and stationary objects, originate? Who preserves it? And where will it go after dissolution?
- (2) What is the extent of the earth?
- (3) What acts please Narasimha?
- (4) How does creation begin, and how does it end?
- (5) What are the four Yugas? How are these to be reckoned, and what are their characteristics?
- (6) What will be the condition of people during the Kali age?

¹ See Appendix I, pp. 65-76.

- (7) How is Narasimha to be worshipped, and what places, mountains and rivers are sacred to him ?
- (8) How were the gods, Manus, Viḍyādhara etc. first created ?
- (9) Which kings were sacrificers, and who attained the highest success ?

The Sūta consented to narrate the '*Nārasimha Purāṇa*.' Consequently, he saluted his teacher Vyāsa, through whose favour he learnt the 'Purāṇas', and then began to deal with the five Purāṇa topics (viz., Primary Creation, Secondary Creation, etc.) by way of answering all the questions with the narration of various relevant stories. So, the present *Narasimha-p.* deals with the following topics :—

Glorification of Narasimha (also called Viṣṇu, Hari, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, etc.) by identifying him with Nārāyaṇa, the eternal Brahma. Description of the origin of the cosmic egg (aṇḍa) from Brahma (i. e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Sāṃkhya system; Viṣṇu's presence as Brahmā in this egg for creation. Division of time into nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta, ahorātra (day-and-night), pakṣa (fortnight), māsa (month), ayana, varṣa (year), yuga and kalpa; and the measurement of those divisions with respect to men, Pitṛs, Manus, Brahmā etc. Brahmā's origin from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel; origin of Rudra from Brahmā's rage; Brahmā's creation of Dakṣa and his wife, from whom Svāyambhuva Manu was born. — (chaps. 1-3). Origin of the ten sages Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras etc. from Brahmā's mind; Brahmā's creation of Śatarūpā who was given in marriage to Manu; creation by the sages except Nārada who was given to Nivṛtti-dharma; creation by Rudra; creation by Dakṣa; the descendants of Dakṣa's daughters. — (chaps. 4-5). Description of the Saṃsāra-vṛkṣa (tree of rebirths) which causes delusion of the mind; praise of Jñāna, Viṣṇu-worship and meditation on Viṣṇu-Brahma as the means of getting rid of all sufferings brought on by rebirths; method and praise of muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' for the purpose. — (chaps. 16-18). Enumeration of Āditya's 108 names (including Śambhu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Kapila, Mr̥tyu, Hari, Haṃsa, Prātardana, Tarāṇi, Mahendra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni etc.) as mentioned by Viśvakarman (chap. 20). 'Short' genealogical

lists of the kings of the solar and the lunar race, the former ending with Budha, (v. l. Buddha in the Dacca University Mss. Noa. 2713 and 284A), son of Śuddhodana, and the latter with Kṣemaka, son of Naravāhana and grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā (chaps. 22-23). Accounts of the past, present and future Manus and Manvantaras (chap. 24). History of the prominent kings of the solar and the lunar race (*varṣānucarita*), especially of those who worshipped Narasimha and performed sacrifices (chaps. 25-29). Geography of the earth (chap. 30). Glorification of the performance of duties towards parents and husband (chap. 14). Glorification of Brahmans and of service rendered to them (chap. 28). Results of giving various articles (chap. 30). Method of the worship of Gaṇeśa (chap. 26). Glorification of Narasimha-worship as well as of the different kinds of service rendered to Narasimha and his temple (viz., construction and sweeping of the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung; bathing of the image with pure water, milk, curd, honey etc. or with Mantra; offer of various articles; recitation of hymns of praise; presentation of flags marked with the figure of Garuḍa; songs, musical concerts, or theatrical performances etc. held for Narasimha's pleasure; removal of flowers etc. with which Narasimha has been worshipped; and so on. - (chaps. 32-34). Sins arising out of crossing the flowers etc. with which Viṣṇu has been worshipped (chap. 28). The methods of performing Lakṣa-homa and Koṭi-homa for the good of the village or the town or the country in which these are performed (chaps. 34-35). The method of consecration of the images of Viṣṇu (chap. 56). The Vedic and the popular (*sarva-hita*) method of Narasimha- (or Viṣṇu-) worship (chaps. 62-63). Description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 54). Duties of the four castes and orders of life (*varṇāśrama-dharma*. - chaps. 57-60). Description and praise of Yoga which is to be practised by one who belongs to the fourth order of life (chap. 61). Enumeration and praise of rivers and holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (chaps. 65-66). Praise of certain qualities of the mind (chap. 67). Mention and praise of a few Vratas (viz., Eka-bhakta, Nakta, Saura-nakta, Agastyārgha-dāna, etc. - chap. 67). Praise of the *Narasimha-purāṇa* (chap. 68).

In connection with these topics the following stories have been introduced in this Purāṇa; viz.

the story of the birth of Vasistha and Agastya from Mitra and Varuṇa when the latter saw Urvaśī in a lake called Paundarikā in a forest in Kurukṣetra (chap. 6); the story of Mārkaṇḍeya who, being destined to die at the age of 12, worshipped Viṣṇu, according to Bhṛgu's advice, with the twelve-syllabled Mantra (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) at Bhadravata on the bank of the river Tunga-bhadrā, with the result that even Death had no influence on him, and when Death and his assistants went to Yama to report how, in their attempt to bring Mārkaṇḍeya to the abode of Yama, they had been beaten back by the Viṣṇu-dūtas, Yama reproached them for their conduct towards the Viṣṇu-dūtas and praised Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa) as the chastiser even of himself (chaps. 7-12); the story of Yama, who, though repeatedly tempted by his passionate sister Yamī to incest, did not agree to her proposal and was thus able to attain divinity (chap. 13); the story of a Brahmacārin named Deva-śarman who turned a wandering mendicant after his father's death, began to live at Nandigrāma in Madhyadeśa after visiting numerous holy places, became proud of his occult power by being able to reduce to ashes, by an angry look, a crow and a crane which were carrying away his rag, chanced to meet Sāvitrī, the devoted, and consequently omniscient, wife of a pious and learned Brahman named Kaśyapa, and was reproached by her for his pride as well as for his neglect of duties to his mother and forefathers (chap. 14); the story of a learned Brahman, who, after his wife's death, visited numerous holy places, turned a Yati at the advice of Narasimha (who warned him that one, who does not belong to any order of life, is not favoured by him), and attained salvation after death (chap. 15); the stories of the birth of the Āśvins and the Maruts, said to have been summarised from those told respectively by Vāyu and by Śakti-putra¹ (i. e. Parāśara)

¹ The printed ed. reads 'śakti-putrēṇa' (see Nar. 19, 5), but the Dacca University Ms. Nos. 2713 (fol. 27a) and 284A (fol. 34b) read 'śakti-putreṇa'. In the Dacca University Ms. No. 323, the folios (37-40) containing chaps. 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed. are lost.

in the 'Vaiṣṇavākhyā Purāṇa' (chaps. 19-21); the story of Ikṣvāku, who, considering renunciation to be the best way of Viṣṇu-worship, went to the hermitage of Gālava and others after eulogising and worshipping Gaṇeśa according to Vasiṣṭha's instructions, practised severe penance there, and muttered the twelve-syllabled Mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', with the result that Brahmā revealed himself before king Ikṣvāku, told him how, being directed by a voice from the air, he himself could experience Viṣṇu by worshipping this god as well as by performing his own duties, and gave instructions to Ikṣvāku, who accordingly returned to his capital, did his duties as a householder, worshipped the images of Ananta and Mādhava given to him by Brahmā, and attained the region of Viṣṇu (chaps. 25-26); the story of Śāntanu who, though worshipping Narasimha according to the method learnt from Nārada, once passed over Narasimha-nirmālya (i. e. the flowers etc. with which Narasimha was worshipped) and was thus disabled from mounting his divine chariot but who regained his power by clearing the remnants of food of Brahmans for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Indra's son who used to steal flowers from the garden of a florist named Ravi and was disabled from mounting his chariot in consequence of passing over Viṣṇu-nirmālya, placed by the florist near the garden according to Narasimha's instructions, but who got rid of his disability and went to his heavenly residence after clearing the remnants of food of Brahmans for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Dhruva's attainment of high position among the stars and planets through Narasimha's favour attained by means of Viṣṇu-worship as well as by muttering the twelve-syllabled Mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' (chap. 31); the story of the demons Sthūlaśiras and Bahuroman, who disguised themselves as ascetics on the bank of the Revā with a view to carrying away Draupadī, and of whom the former was killed by Bhīma and the latter, when chased by Arjuna, took the form of a four-armed and yellow-robed being with a conch-shell, disc etc. in his hands and narrated to Arjuna how in his previous birth as a Brahman of ill repute he swept the floor of a Viṣṇu-temple and lighted a lamp there for enjoying

the wife of a Brahman, how being beaten to death by the city-guards he attained heaven and remained there for a long time, how he was reborn as king Jayadhvaja of the lunar race and rendered service to the Viṣṇu-temple, and how after death he enjoyed various pleasures in the regions of Indra and Rudra and was, on his way to the Brahmaloṇa, cursed by Nārada to become a demon (chap. 33); the stories of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balabhadra, Kṛṣṇa, and Kalki) including the story of Prahlāda (chaps. 36-54): the story of Śukra's regaining his eye which was pierced by Vāmana (chap. 55); the story of Indra, who muttered the eight-syllabled Mantra and got rid of his female form that was brought on him by the curse of the sage Ṭṛṇabindu for killing in his hermitage the demoness Dirghajāṅghā who, under the guise of an extremely beautiful woman, acted as a spy to Kuvera whose wife Citrasenā was stolen by Indra (chap. 63); the story of a Brahman named Puṇḍarika, who became a wandering mendicant without entering the second stage of life, settled at Śaligrāma and became an attendant (pāśada) of Nārāyaṇa by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra (om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya) and meditating on the deity according to the instructions of Nārada who introduced himself as a servant of Vāsudeva (chap. 64).

From the above mentioned contents of the present *Narasimha-p.* it is clear that this Purāṇa is meant exclusively for the glorification of Narasimha who is identified with Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) as one of the forms (mūrti) of the latter¹ and is thus called not only Nārāyaṇa but also Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Hari, Mādhava, Ananta, Kṛṣṇa,² Dāmodara etc. So Narasimha, though a form of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is himself the principal god also. It is this supreme deity called Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Narasimha) who takes the form of Brahmā and Rudra for the sake of creation and destruction respectively, and for the work of preservation he takes the forms of (the inferior) Viṣṇu, Narasimha etc.³ In creation he takes to Māyā.⁴ Though in this

¹ Nar. 1, 30; 1, 64-65.

² Nar. 1, 10; 7, 37.

³ Nar. 1, 30; 2, 1; 1, 61-62 and 64-65; 39, 17b-18b.

⁴ Nar. 3, 28—māyām adhiṣṭhāya sṛjaty anantaḥ.

Purāṇa Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is described as four-armed, yellow-robed, having a complexion like that of the cloud, and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a mace and a lotus in his hands, he is called nirvikalpa, niṣprapañca, advaita, sarvātmaka, ātmacaitanya-rūpa, jyotiḥ-svarūpa, avyakta-svarūpa, ānanda-rūpa, cidātmaka etc.¹ and identified with the Brahma of Vedānta and the Puruṣa of Sāṃkhya.²

It has already been said that the present *Narasimha-p.* is one of the oldest of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It was translated into Telugu about 1300 A. D.³ and is profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. For instance, Gadādhara quotes verses from chap. 58 in his *Kālasāra*; Gopālabhaṭṭa from chaps. 8, 9, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.), 58 and 66 in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*; Anantabhaṭṭa from chaps. 34 and 35 in his *Vidhāna-pārijāta* I; Narasimha Vājapeyin from chaps. 7, 8, 28, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.), 58 and 63 in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*; Raghunandana from chap. 62 in his *Durgā-pūjā-tattva* and from chaps. 8, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.), 58, 62, 63, 66 and 67 in his *Smṛti-tattva*; Govindānanda from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.), 58, 62 and 67 in his *Varṣa-kaumudī*, from chap. 58 in his *Śuddha-kaumudī* and *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, and from chap. 30 in his *Dāna-kaumudī*; Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chap. 58 in his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from chaps. 8, 15, 32, 58 and 63 in his *Nityācāra-pradīpāli*; Śūlapāṇi from chap. 58 in his *Dīpa-kalikā*; Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 65 in his *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi*; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 58 and 60 in his commentary on the *Parūṣara-smṛti*; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 28, 32 and 58 in his *Kṛtyācāra*; Madanapāla from chaps. 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.) and 58 in his *Madana-pārijāta*; Hemādri from chaps. 26, 30, 58 and 67 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*; Vallālasena from chaps. 30, 34 and 58 in his *Dānasāgara*;

¹ Nar. 17, 17-18, 24-25 and 27; 1, 61b-62a; 1, 31a; 53, 11; and so on.

² Nar. 1, 31a and 36-39; 3, 13; 17, 35a.

³ Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 249.

Devana-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in the Dacca University Mss.) and 58 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*; and Aparārka from chaps. 58, 60 and 63 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (see Appendix III). In his *Smṛti-tattva* II, pp. 84 and 284 Raghunandana quotes *Nar.* 66, 45 and *Nar.* 30, 29-30a not direct from the *Narasimha-p.* but from the 'Tirtha-kāṇḍa-kalpataru' and 'Dāna-ratnākara' respectively. Though Vallālasena is very particular about the authenticity of the Purāṇas which he draws upon in his *Dānasāgara*,¹ he utilises the present *Narasimha-p.* without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character. Moreover in 1030 A. D. Alberūni mentions the *Narasimha-p.* in his first list of eighteen

¹ Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Vallālasena when, in his *Dānasāgara*, he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. Regarding the *Ādi-purāṇa* he says that though it was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the *Dānasāgara*, because its contents were already fully utilised in the *Ācāra-sāgara*; the *Bhāgavata*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Nāradya-purāṇa* did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside: the *Līṅga-purāṇa*, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations (mahādāna), contained in the *Matsya-purāṇa* and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was utilised upto the chapters dealing with saptamī (-kalpa), while those on the aṣṭamī- and navamī (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence; the *Viṣṇu-rahasya* and the *Śiva-rahasya*, which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the *Bhaviṣyottara* was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the *Dānasāgara* for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.

Next Vallālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., *Tārṅgya* (i. e. *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* consisting of 23000 ślokas, and *Līṅga* of 6000 ślokas; and in connection with their contents he says that these works dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīna-ketanas (followers of Mīnanātha ?) and others, who were hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the *Skanda-purāṇa* existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Pauṇḍra, Revā and Avanti, Vallālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas. See *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b-4a.

'Purāṇas' which was dictated to him.¹ These show that by the end of the tenth century A. D. the *Narasimha-p.* attained such prominence that its authenticity as an ancient 'Purāṇa' was not at all questioned. Hence this Purāṇa must have been written not later than 800 A. D.

The mention of a 'Vārāṇhākyā Samhitā' or 'Vārāṇa'² in the *Narasimha-p.* must not be taken to point to the extant *Varāṇa-p.* and thus be used as an evidence for the late date of the present *Narasimha*. In *Nar.* 1, 14-15 Bharadvāja says, "O Sūta, the Samhitā named Vārāṇa has already been heard from you by these (sages) and ourselves during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka; at present these sages and myself want to hear from you the Paurāṇa-samhitā named Nārasimha"³; and in *Nar.* 31, 10b-11a Sūta says in connexion with geography, "The region of Viṣṇu is situated at a distance double in comparison with that of the region of Brahmā; its glories have been described in the Vārāṇa by those who think over the (different) regions."⁴ From these it is clear that the *Narasimha-p.* speaks of a *Varāṇa-p.* which was narrated by Sūta to the sages Bharadvāja and others during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka and which dealt, among other topics, with the praise of the region of Viṣṇu. But in the present *Varāṇa-p.* there is no mention of Śaunaka's great sacrifice as the occasion of the narration of the Purāṇa or of Bharadvāja as one of the interlocutors, nor does this Purāṇa deal

¹ Sachau, *Alberūni's India*, Vol. I, p. 30.

This list consists of the following 'Purāṇas': *Ādi-p.*, *Matsya-p.*, *Kūrma-p.*, *Varāṇa-p.*, *Narasimha-p.*, *Vāmana-p.*, *Vāyu-p.*, *Nanda-p.*, *Skanda-p.*, *Āditya-p.*, *Soma-p.*, *Sūmba-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, *Mārkrṇḍeya-p.*, *Tārṇya-p.*, *Viṣṇu-p.*, *Brahma-p.* and *Bhaviṣya-p.*

² In *Nar.* 31, 11a the printed ed. reads 'varāṇhē', but the Dacca University Mss read 'vārāṇe' in the corresponding line. See footnote 4 below.

³ Bharadvāja uvāca |

śaunakasya mahāsatre vārāṇhākyā tu samhitā |

tvattaḥ śrutā purāṇe sūta etair asmābhir eva ca ||

sāmpṛataṁ nārasimhākyāṁ tvattaḥ paurāṇa-samhitāṁ |

śrotum icchāmy ahaṁ sūta śrotukāmā ime sthitāḥ || *Nar.* 1, 14-15

⁴ brāhma-lokād viṣṇu-loko dviguṇe ca vyavasthitāḥ |

varāṇe tasya mātmyam kathitaṁ loka-cintakaiḥ || *Nar.* 31, 10b-11a.

The Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 (fol. 41b), 323 (fol. 47a) and 284A (fol. 54a) read 'vārāṇe' for 'varāṇe'. The former two Mss read 'yoga-cintakaiḥ' for 'loka-cintakaiḥ'.

with the glories of the Viṣṇu-loka. So, the *Varāha-p.* mentioned in the *Narasimha-p.* must have been different from the extant *Varāha*, which was thus unknown to the present *Narasimha-p.* The original chapters of the extant *Varāha-p.* being written about 800 A. D., the date of the present *Narasimha-p.* must be placed earlier.

The verses common to the *Narasimha-p.* and the present *Varāha* in their chapters on primary and secondary creation¹ need not be taken to prove the indebtedness of one of these two Purāṇas to the other. These common verses must have been taken by these two Purāṇas from the earlier *Varāha-p.* which is now extinct.

In chaps. 26, 33 (verses 1-14), 34, 35, 56, 62 and 63 (verses 1-9 and 199-222) the *Narasimha-p.* gives the method of Gaṇeśa-worship, the Vedic and popular methods of Viṣṇu-worship, the method of consecrating the images of Viṣṇu, and the procedure to be followed in the performance of Lakṣa-homa and Koṭi-homa. But neither in these chapters nor anywhere else in the whole Purāṇa there is the slightest trace of Tantric influence. This Purāṇa does not mention the Tantriks or the Tantras even for the sake of denouncement. So, it is evident that this Purāṇa was composed at a time when the Tantras did not begin to influence the people very seriously. Now, from an examination of the Mahāpurāṇas we have seen that Tantric influence began to be imbibed by the Purāṇic works from about 800 A. D.² Hence the *Narasimha-p.* must be dated not later than 700 A. D.

Though in chap. 36 of the *Narasimha-p.* Mārkaṇḍeya promises to narrate the stories on the following (eleven) incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana,

¹ <i>Narasimha-p.</i>	<i>Varāha-p.</i> (ASB ed.)	<i>Narasimha-p.</i>	<i>Varāha-p.</i> (ASB. ed.)
1, 17, 19-20a and 23a	= 1, 12-15a	3, 10b	= 2, 21a
1, 32-33	= 2, 3-4	3, 11-28b	= 2, 23-41a
1, 35-36a	= 2, 5-6	4, 1-6	= 2, 42-47
3, 1-9a	= 2, 13-20	5, 5a and 6b-8a	= 2, 49-50.

² See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 260.

Paraśurāma, Rāma,¹ Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki, he gives, in chaps. 37-54, the stories on all these except the Buddha and adds at the end, "I have spoken on the ten incarnations of (Viṣṇu) the destroyer of (all) earthly sins. The devotee of Nṛsiṁha, who always listens to these, attains Viṣṇu" (Nar. 54, 6). So the only line 'kalau prāpte yathā buddho bhaven nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh' (Nar. 36, 9a), which mentions the Buddha incarnation, is undoubtedly spurious. This line does not occur in the Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A) of the *Narasimha-p.* Thus the *Narasimha-p.* knows the group of the 'ten' incarnations of Viṣṇu but is quite ignorant of the Buddha incarnation. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu shows that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A. D.² Hence the date of the *Narasimha-p.* is to be placed not later than about 550 A. D.

According to the *Narasimha-p.* Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's Śakti.³ It is for this inferior position of Kṛṣṇa that Yama says in Nar. 9, 3, "I submit to the slayer of (the demon) Madhu; even Kṛṣṇa is not able to restrain me of his own accord." Hence the *Narasimha-p.* is to be dated earlier than the present *Bhāgavata*, in which Kṛṣṇa is given a higher position and is even called the Bhagavat himself.⁴ As the present *Bhāgavata* is to be dated in sixth century A. D.⁵ the *Narasimha-p.* is to be placed not later than 500 A. D.

¹ In the present ed. the verse (no. 7) on the Rāma incarnation is placed before the line (no. 9a) on Paraśurāma, but in the Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A) this order has been reversed.

² See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 41-42.

³ See Nar. 53, 30b-31a (... .. avatīrya mahātale | sita-kṛṣṇe oamāchakti kāmśādīn ghātayīṣyataḥ ||), 33a (preṣayāmāsa te śakti sita-kṛṣṇe svake nṛpa) and 66a (ittham hi śakti sita-kṛṣṇa-rūpe harer anantasya mahābalāḍḍhye).

⁴ Cf. *Bhāgavata-p.* 1, 3, 38a-ete cāmśa-kalāḥ puṁsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam.

⁵ As there are a few parallelisms in idea as well as language between the works of Śaṅkarācārya and the present *Bhāgavata-p.*, some scholars are inclined to date the *Bhāgavata* after that great Vedāntist scholar. (See *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, II, pp. 129-139). But these scholars overlook the facts that the present *Bhāgavata*, like the other Purāṇic works, has been revised and emended on more occasions than one, and that Śaṅkarācārya's influence must be due to these revisions and emendations. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove the pre-Śaṅkara origin of earlier portions of the present *Bhāgavata*. (See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 52-57).

Thus we get the lower limit of the date of this Purāṇa.

Again, in *Narasimha-p.*, chaps. 47-52, a summary of the contents of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given in connection with the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu; *Nar.* 29, 3 mentions some of the notable incidents of the *Mahābhārata*, viz., Arjuna's receipt of the Pāśupata weapon from Śaṁkara and the assistance given by him to Agni in consuming the Khāṇḍava forest, the Pāṇḍavas' residence *incognito* with Draupadī in Virāṭa's capital, and so on; and in *Nar.* 29, 6 Janamejaya is said to have heard the entire *Mahābhārata* from Vaiśampāyana a student of Vyāsa, in order to get rid of the sin arising out of killing a Brahman (brahma-hatyā).¹ Thus the *Narasimha-p.* knows both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In *Nar.* 19, 5-6 Sūta says to Bharadvāja, "O high-minded one, the origin of the Maruts has already been described elaborately by the son of Śaktri (i. e. by Parāśara) in the Purāṇa, named Vaiṣṇava, and the creation of the twin gods Aśvins has been narrated in minute details by Vāyu. I shall speak to you briefly on this creation. Listen to me."² Thus the *Narasimha-p.* mentions two Purāṇas, of which the second is decidedly the present *Vāyu-p.*, which contains the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chap. 84 and is declared by Vāyu;³ but the information regarding the 'Vaiṣṇavākhyā Purāṇa' in which Śaktri's son (Parāśara) was the narrator of the story of the birth of the Maruts, does not tally fully with the present *Viṣṇu-p.* which, though narrated by Parāśara, does not contain this story. But this absence of the story of the birth of the Maruts in the present text of the *Viṣṇu-p.* must not be taken very seriously, because it can be explained away by saying that

¹ sūta uvāca ||
marutāṁ vistareṇoktā vaiṣṇavākhye mahāmata |
purāṇe śakti-putreṇa purotpattiś ca vāyunā ||
aśvinor devayoś caiva sṛṣṭir uktā suvistarāt |
saṁkṣepāt tava vakṣyāmi sṛṣṭim etāṁ śṛṇuṣva me || *Nar.* 19, 5-6.

The Dacca University Mss Nos. 2714 and 284A read 'śakti-putreṇa' for 'śakti-putreṇa'. Dacca University Ms. No. 323 has lost chaps. 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28.

² This identity seems to be supported by the verses common to the *Vāyu* and the *Narasimha-p.*, viz.,

Vāyu-p. 6, 60-65 ... of *Nār.* 3, 23-28a,
" 9, 75ff. ... of " 5, 3ff.

the particular Ms or recension of the present *Viṣṇu-p.* which was used by the *Narasimha-p.* contained the above mentioned story, and also because there are verses common to the *Narasimha* and the *Viṣṇu-p.*¹ Hence the *Narasimha-p.* must be dated later than the present *Vāyu-p.* and *Viṣṇu-p.* That the *Narasimha-p.* was composed later than the *Viṣṇu-p.* is shown by another piece of evidence. In the *Viṣṇu-p.* two hairs of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, are said to have been incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma respectively.² Thus Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are incarnations of exceedingly small portions of Viṣṇu. But in the *Narasimha-p.* it is two Śaktis of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, which appear in the forms of Kṛṣṇa and (Bala-) Rāma respectively for the destruction of Kamsa and others.³ So the position of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as incarnations of Viṣṇu is better in the *Narasimha-p.* than in the *Viṣṇu*. Now, the present *Vāyu-p.*, with the exception of those of its chapters which were added later, being earlier than the present *Viṣṇu-p.*, and the *Viṣṇu-p.* being to be dated about 300 A. D., the date of the *Narasimha-p.* should be placed not earlier than about 400 A. D. This upper limit of the date of the present *Narasimha-p.* is supported by its mention of week-days (viz., Arka-divasa and Guru-vāra) in chap. 67 (verses 8 and 10 respectively), because the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A. D.⁴

Thus the date of the present *Narasimha-p.* is to be placed between 400 and 500 A. D. It is highly probable that this Purāṇa was written in the latter half of this century.

¹ For instance,

<i>Narasimha-p.</i>		<i>Viṣṇu-p.</i>
3, 23-28a	..	cf. I, 5, 18-24.
5, 3ff.	=	I, 8, 1b-2; 7, 3ff.
25, 40b-41a	=	I, 6, 39.

² See *Viṣṇu-p.* V. 1, 59-60—*evam saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān para-meśvaraḥ | ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita-kṛṣṇau mahāmune || uvāca ca surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tale | avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ kari-ṣyataḥ ||*

³ *Nar.* 53, 30b-31a, 33-34a and 66. For the texts of these verses see footnote 19 above.

⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 88-89.

The introductory verses of the *Narasimha-p.* do not throw any light on the date of this Purāṇa. As all the Mss. do not agree in this respect, some of these introductory verses may be later additions. Moreover, the date of these verses is uncertain. The verses 'kim kim simhas tataḥ kim' is ascribed to Vyāsa in the *Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya* (ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 13) and Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 53), and thus seems to have been taken from the *Narasimha-p.*

That a *Narasimha-p.* was written at a fairly early date is shown not only by its mention in all the lists of Upapurāṇas¹ but also by the *Matsya-p.* (53, 59) which says that the Upapurāṇas viz., *Nārasimha*, *Nandi-purāṇa*, *Sāmba* and *Aditya*, were 'well-established in society' (loke.....sampratiṣṭhitāḥ), thus testifying to a much earlier date of these Upapurāṇas. But it is very difficult to say whether our present *Narasimha-p.* is the same as that mentioned in these lists and in the *Matsya-p.* The commentators and the Nibandha-writers² are, however, quite sure of the identity of the two. Of these, Narasimha Vājapeyin even explains the shorter form of the present *Narasimha-p.* saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous *Nārasimha* is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."²

The above date of the present *Narasimha-p.* must not be taken to be that of the entire Purāṇa as found in the printed edition, because in the printed edition there are chapters and verses which are decidedly later interpolations. In order to be able to find out these spurious portions a list of such chapters and verses as are not found in all the Mss of the *Narasimha-p.* is given below with the mention of those Mss in which they occur and also of those in which they are not found.

¹ For these lists and the date or formation of the group, see *ABORI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 38 ff.

² *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18—prasiddha-nārasimhasya aṣṭādaśasāhasra-saṁkhyā yady api nopalabhyate kiṁcit kāla-kramāt luptam iti pratibhāti.

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.	Mss. in which they are not found.	Mss. in which they occur.
1. Chap. 31, verses 1-97. (On the story of Dhruva).	(1) Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms. (3) Keith's Ms (Cat. No. 6618). (4) Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713, 323, 284A. (5) R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (6) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, (2) Keith's Mss, Cat. Nos. 6616-17, (3) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (4) Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss ?	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
2. Chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1. (On the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlāsiras).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713, 323, 284A. (4) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (5) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, (2) Keith's Mss, (3) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (4) Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss ?	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
3. Chap. 34, verses 43-55a. (On Lakṣa-homa and Koṭi-homa).	Ms ग used in the printed ed.	All other Mss.

4. Chap. 36, verse (1) Dacca Univ. Mss Mss क, ख and also
9a. (On the Nos. 2713, 323, ग (?) used in the
Buddha incarna- 284A. printed ed.
tion). (Most probably also
in the Mss of Mi-
tra, Aufrecht, Eg-
geling, Keith, Shas-
tri and Calcutta
Sans. College; oth-
erwise the number
of incarnations be-
comes 11 and not
10 as mentioned in
Nar. 54, 6-daśāva-
tārāṅkathitāstava-
iva harer mayā
etc.).
5. Chap. 40, verses (1) Ms noticed by Mss क and ख used in
60b-61b; chaps. 41- Mitra. the printed ed.
43; chap. 44, verses (2) Aufrecht's Mss.
1-13. (3) Dacca Univ. Mss
(On the story of Nos. 2713, 323,
Prahlaḍa.) 284A.
(4) Mitra's Bikaner
(5) Ms ग used in the
printed ed.
Also in (1) Eggeling's
Mss, (2) Keith's
Mss, (3) Shastri's
ASB Mss, and (4)
Calcutta Sans.
College Mss ?
6. Chap. 54, verses (1) Ms noticed by Mss क and ख used in
8-61. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. the printed ed.
(On the evils of the (3) Dacca Univ. Mss
Kali age,) Nos. 2713, 323, 284A
Also in (1) Eggeling's
Mss, (2) Keith's Mss
(3) Shastri's ASB
Mss, and (4) Cal-
cutta Sans. College
Mss ?

7. Chap. 61.
(On Yoga).
- (1) Aufrecht's Mss. (1) Ms. noticed by Mitra.
(2) Mss. क and ख used in the printed ed. (2) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323, 284A.
(3) Ms ग used in the printed ed.
Also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, (2) Keith's Mss, (3) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (4) Calcutta Sans. College Mss ?
8. Chap. 63, verses 10-119a.
(On the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra.)
- (1) Dacca Univ. Mss. Nos. 2713 and 323. (1) Eggeling's Ms (Cat. No. 3378. In its comparatively modern portion).
(In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all.) (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
(2) Ms. ग used in the printed ed.
Most probably also in (1) Ms noticed by Mitra,
(2) Aufrecht's Mss.
Also in (1) Eggeling's Mss,
(2) Keith's Mss,
(3) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (4) Calcutta Sans. College Mss ?

9. Chap. 64.

(On the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glories of Nārāyaṇa.)

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.

(2) Eggeling's Mss.

(3) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713 and 323.

(In Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all.)

Also in (1) Keith's Mss, (2) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (3) (3) Calcutta Sans. College Mss?

(1) Aufrecht's Mss.

(2) Eggeling's Ms. (Cat. No. 3378. In its modern portion.)

(3) Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.)

10. Chap. 65.

(On the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣṇavas).

(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138.

(2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.

(2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139.

(3) Eggeling's Mss.

(4) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323, 284A.

(5) Ms ग used in the printed ed.

Also in (1) Keith's Mss, (2) Shastri's ASB Mss, and (3) Calcutta Sans. College Mss (especially in Ms No. 36) ?

11. Chap. 66.
(On the praise of
holy places.)
- (1) Aufrecht's Ms. No. 138. (1) Ms. noticed by Mitra.
(2) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139
(3) Calcutta Sans. College Ms No. 298. (3) Eggeling's Mss.
(4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed. (4) Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713, 323.
(5) Shastri's ASB Mss (especially Cat. No. 4076.)
(6) Ms ग used in the printed ed.
Also in (1) Keith's Mss, and (2) Calcutta Sans. College Ms No. 36 ?
12. Chap. 67.
(On the mental Tir-
thas, and the praise
of the *Narasimha-p.*)
- (1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
(2) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139.
(3) Calcutta Sans. College Ms No. 298. (3) Eggeling's Mss.
(4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed. (4) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323.
(5) Ms ग used in the printed ed.
13. Chap. 68.
(On the praise of
the *Narasimha-p.*)
- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (1) Aufrecht's Mss.
(2) Eggeling's Mss. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
(Cat. Nos. 3375-77)
(3) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323, 284A.
(4) Calcutta Sans. college Mss (Nos. 36, 298).
(5) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Also in (1) Keith's Mss, and (2) Shastri's ASB Mss ?

The above table shows that the following chapters, which are not contained in the older and better Mss, are *undoubtedly spurious*, viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97	on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85	on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras,
•	on the Buddha incarnation,
chap. 26, verse 9a	} on the story of Prahlāda,
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b;	
chaps. 41-43,	
chap. 44, verses 1-13	
chap. 54, verses 8-61	on the evils of the Kali age,
chap. 63, verses 10-119a	on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra,
chap. 64	on the interlocation between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glories of Nārāyaṇa,
chap. 68	on the praise of the <i>Narasimha-p.</i> ;

whereas the following chapters, viz.,

chap. 34 (verses 43-55a)	on Lakṣa-homa and Koṭi-homa,
chap. 61	on Yoga,
chap. 65	on the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣṇavas,
chap. 66	on praise of holy places,
and chap. 67	on the mental Tirthas, and the praise of the <i>Narasimha-p.</i> ,

though eliminated in some Mss, are genuine.

The spurious character of the chapters and verses of the former group is also shown by their position, by the nature of their insertion, as well as by other evidences. For instance, the story of Dhruva in chap. 31, verses 1-97 is inserted so abruptly that none can have the slightest doubt regarding the fact that verses 98-113 of chap. 31 are direct continuations of the verses in chap. 30. As a matter of fact, chap. 30 and verses 98-113 of chap. 31 of the printed ed. form a single chapter in the Dacca Univer-

sity Mss.¹ Similarly, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras in chap. 33 (verses 15-85) and chap. 34 (verse 1) separate verses 1-14 of chap. 33 and verses 2 ff. of chap. 34 of the printed ed. which deal with the results of offering different articles to Viṣṇu and of rendering various kinds of service to this deity and which thus rightly form a single chapter in the Dacca University Mss. Regarding the spurious character of verse 9a of chap. 36 much has already been said in connection with the determination of the date of this Purāṇa. As to the chapters on the story of the Prahlāda, they are placed between verses 1-60a of chap. 40 and verses 14ff. of chap. 44 of the printed ed. which form one single chapter in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms π used in the printed edition. In these Mss, those verses, which are separated, with modifications, by the chapters on the story of Prahlāda in the printed ed., read, with slight variations, as follows :

gacchadhvam adhunā devāḥ svasthānam vigata-jvarāḥ ।
 aham adya gamiṣyāmi indrasyendratva-siddhaye ॥
 hiraṇya-kaśīpor nāśo bhavatām api vṛddhaye ।
 yuṣmākaṁ vijayāyaiva ajayāya sura-dviṣām ॥
 mārkaṇḍeya uvāca ।
 ity uktā viṣṇunā devā natvā viṣṇuṁ yayur nrpa ।
 bhagavān api deveśo nārasimham athākarot ॥
 bahu-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ bahu-yojanam āyatam ।
 atiraudraṁ mahākāyaṁ dānavānām bhayaṁkaram ॥
 mahānetraṁ mahāvakraṁ mahādamaṣṭraṁ mahānakham ।
 mahābāhuṁ mahāpādaṁ kālāgni-sadrōpamam ॥
 kṛtvetthaṁ nārasimhaṁ tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramaḥ ।
 stūyamāno muni-gaṇair hiraṇya-kaśīpoḥ puraḥ ॥
 nr̥simhas tatra gatvā ca mahānādaṁ nanāda ca ।
 tan-nāda-śravaṇād daityā nārasimham aveṣṭayan ॥
 tān hatvā sakalāms tatra sva-pauruṣa-parākrāmāt ।
 babhaṅja ca sabhāṁ divyāṁ hiraṇya-kaśīpor nr̥pa ॥
 etc. etc.

How these verses have been changed in the printed edition in order to accommodate the chapters on the story of Prahlāda will

¹ As we have not been able to consult the other Mss of the *Narasimha-p.*, we refer only to the Dacca University Mss.

be obvious from a comparison of these verses with *Nar.* 40, 60ff. and 44, 14 ff. The word 'yayau' in the line 'kṛtvetham nārasimhaṁ tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah' which has been retained in the printed edition, does not agree with what has been said of Viṣṇu in the story of Prahlāda. As regards the spuriousness of chap. 68 it can be said that the *Narasimha-p.* really ends with chap. 67, which deals not only with mental Tīrthas but also with the praise of the Purāṇa, and of which lines 24b-25a say, "Having heard (the Purāṇa topics) in company with the Snātakas (i. e. the sages who took their holy bath in the Ganges), Bharadvāja remained there after showing proper respect to Sūta, but the (other) sages went away". Further, though in several places of the *Narasimha-p.* unswerving (acalā, avyabhi-cāriṇī) Bhakti is mentioned and praised as the means of attaining the blissful state of existence,¹ it is only in some of those chapters which we have taken as spurious that there are mention and praise of Dāsyabhakti.² It is also noteworthy that none of these spurious chapters is referred to by any of the remaining chapters, though there are numerous cross references in the latter³.

¹ See *Nar.* 7, 33; 9, 6; 10 49 and 51; 11, 56 and 60; 32, 10; and so on.

² Cf. prahlādo'bravid dhīmān deva janmāntareṣv api |

dāsaś tavaḥam bhūyasaṁ garutmān iva bhaktimān ||

Nar. 43, 78b-79a;

dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgiṇaḥ |

ityukto nāradañśau bhakti-paryākulātmanā || *Nar.* 64, 46;

janmāntara-sahasreṣu yasya syād buddhir idṛśī |

dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgiṇaḥ |

prayāti viṣṇu-sālokyāṁ puruṣo nātra sañśayaḥ || *Nar.* 64, 94-95a.

Also cf. *Nar.* 64, 116-117.

In *Nar.* 33, 31 the demon Bahuroman says how in one of his previous births as a Brahman named Raivata, he was killed by the city-guards in a Viṣṇu-temple and was taken to heaven in a car which was 'prabhu-dāsa-samanvita'.

³ *Nar.* 6, 2 refers to *Nar.* 5, 2; *Nar.* 19, 4 refers to *Nar.* 5, 46-47; *Nar.* 20, 1 refers to *Nar.* 19, 23; *Nar.* 24, 1 (prathamam tāvāt svāyambhuvaṁ manvantaram tat-svarūpaṁ kathitam) refers to *Nar.* 3, 8-9 and *Nar.* 5, 20 ff.; *Nar.* 24, 17c (pūrvoktāś chāyāyām utpanno manuḥ) refers to *Nar.* 19, 13 and 15; *Nar.* 29, 9b (tasya caritam upariṣṭād bhaviṣyati) refers to *Nar.* 32 ff.; *Nar.* 32, 1 refers to *Nar.* 29, 9; *Nar.* 32, 1-2 and 8 refer to chaps. 36 ff. (on incarnations of Viṣṇu); *Nar.* 35, 2 refers to *Nar.* 34, 47 (on Koṭi-homa); *Nar.* 36, 1 refers to *Nar.* 32, 1-2 and 8; *Nar.* 55, 1 refers to *Nar.* 45, 35-36; *Nar.* 62, 2 refers to *Nar.* 58, 92b-93a. The words 'kā vāvasthā kalau yuge' in *Nar.* 1, 20a refers to *Nar.* 54, 1-6 and not to the section on 'kālyuga-lakṣaṇa' occurring in *Nar.* 54, 8-61.

The above table further shows that there were distinct stages in the process of addition and elimination of chapters and verses. For instance, Ms ग (used in the printed ed.) interpolates chaps. 36 (verse 9a), 54 (verses 8-61) and 64, but eliminates nothing; Dacca University Ms No. 284A interpolates nothing but eliminates chaps. 66 and 67; and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 interpolates chaps. 64 and 68 and eliminates chap. 61. Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 not only combines all the interpolations and eliminations of the Dacca University Ms (No. 284A) and Aufrecht's Ms. No. 139 but also eliminates one chapter more, viz., chap. 65. Mss ॥ and ॥ (used in the printed ed.) go a step further not only by combining all the interpolations and eliminations of Ms ग and Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 but also by interpolating chaps. 31 (verses 1-97), 33 (verses 15-85), 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43, 44 (verses 1-13) and 63 (verses 10-119a).

Even among the chapters other than those which have been differentiated above as spurious, there are some which are most probably comparatively late additions. Such chapters are especially *Nar.* 6 (on the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as sons of Mitra and Varuṇa) and *Nar.* 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the story of Yama and Yami, etc. narrated by Vyāsa to Śuka). In *Nar.* 5, 48 ff. the names of those 13 daughters of Dakṣa who were given in marriage to Kaśyapa, are the following:—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ariṣṭā, Svarasā, Svasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tāmrā, Krodha-vaśā, Irā, Kadrū and Muni; but in *Nar.* 6, 4-8 the list of the names of the '13 daughters' married to Kaśyapa omits Ariṣṭā and Tāmrā but adds Kālā, Muhūrtā, Simhikā and Saramā, thus increasing the number to fifteen. Even in the Dacca University Mss the names of these '13 daughters' are different from those given in chap. 5.¹ It is to be noted that in *Nar.* 5, 43 Muhūrtā is said to have been

¹ The text of verses 6b-7 of chap. 6, as given in the Dacca University Mss, is as follows:

aditir ditir danuḥ kālā (Ms 284A—kālī) muhūrtā simhikā muniḥ |
 vrātā (Ms 2713—tāmrā) krodhā ca surabhir vinatā surasā (Ms
 2713—after marginal correction—sarasā) tathā (Ms
 2713—khasā) |

kadrūś ca svarasā (Ms 248A omits the word 'svarasā' with a blank space) caiva yā tu devī śunī tathā (Ms 323—devī śuci smṛtā) |

given in marriage to Dharma. This disagreement between chap. 5 (which deals with Pratisarga and cannot, therefore, be spurious) and chap. 6 seems to indicate the spurious character of the latter. In order to introduce this chapter the interpolator adds verse 2 (*mitrā-varuṇa-putratvaṃ vasiṣṭhasya katham bhavet etc.*) of chap. 5. It is, however, not improbable that only verses 6-8a (containing the names of the '13 daughters') are spurious, and not the entire chap. 6. As to the chaps. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.), their introductory verse is as follows :

mārkaṇḍeyena muninā katham mṛtyūḥ parājitaḥ ।
etad ākhyāhi me sūta tvayaitat sūcitam purā ॥

Though in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. there is no verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya or of the way of his subduing Death, the expression 'tvayaitat sūcitam purā' refers to the verses

bhṛgoḥ khyātyām samutpannā lakṣmīr viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ ।
tathā dhātā-vidhātārau khyātyām jātāu sutau bhṛgoḥ ॥
āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane ।
dhātur vidhātus ca te bhārye tayoṛ jātāu sutāv ubhau ॥
prāṇas caiva mṛkaṇḍus ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ ।
yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt ॥

which occur among those 12 verses which have been lost after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed ed. but are found in chap. 5 of the Dacca University Mss. Hence the absence of the verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. is no cause for taking chaps. 7-18 as spurious. These chapters are considered as interpolated, because *Nar.* 19, 4 refers to *Nar.* 5, 46-47 ignoring the intervening chaps. 7-18 and because Mārkaṇḍeya, who is called the great grandson of Bhṛgu in the lost verses mentioned above, is mentioned as Bhṛgu's grandson in chaps. 7-12.¹ Of these twelve intervening chapters (7-18), chaps. 7-12 (dealing with the story of Mārkaṇḍeya) differ from chaps. 13-18 in certain matters. In the former six chapters (7-12) the use of the twelve-syllabled Mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' is prescribed more

¹ See *Nar.* 7, 10-12, 25, 27 etc. ; 8, 3 and 10 ; 9, 13 ; 12, 65.

than once ; the name 'Kṛṣṇa' for Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) is given on many occasions ; and the names 'Devakī-nandana', 'Vāsudeva' etc. also are found. Once Yama says,

"sugatim abhilaṣāmi vāsudevād aham api bhāgavate

sthitāntarātmā ।

madhu-vadha-vaśago'smi na svatantraḥ prabhavati

saṁyamane mamāpi kṛṣṇaḥ ॥"

Hence these chapters, though not recognising Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself, have a Bhāgavata tinge. On the other hand, chaps. 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight-syllabled Mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' are praised, and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-Yamī-saṁvāda) except in the line 'cittam me nirmalam bhadre viṣṇau rudre ca saṁsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives, unlike the other chapters, the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chaps. 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chaps. 7-12.

From what has been said above regarding the addition and elimination of chapters and verses in the present *Narasimha-p.*, it is clear that this Purāṇa has been revised on more occasions than one. A comparison between the texts of the same extracts as quoted by different Smṛti-writers and occurring in the printed ed., also lends strong support in this direction.¹ The

¹ For instance, a comparison between *Nar.* 34, 6-12 and these very verses as quoted by Narasimha Vājaṇeyin in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 558-560, shows how single lines of the quoted passage have been expanded into verses in the printed ed. For example, the line 'toyena bhaktyā saṁśāpāya viṣṇu-loke mahīyate' (in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya toyena payasā narasimhaṁ narādhipa । sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate ॥' (*Nar.* 34, 6) ; the line 'snāpya dadhṇā sakṛd viṣṇum viṣṇu-lokam avāpnuyāt' (in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya dadhṇā sakṛd yastu nirmalaḥ priya-darśanaḥ । viṣṇu-lokam avāpnotti pūjyamānaḥ srottamaḥ ॥' (*Nar.* 34, 7) ; and so on. Again, a comparison between the texts of the verses quoted from the *Narasimha-p.* in *Madana-pārijāta*, pp. 301-2, *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 411 and *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 617 shows that the texts of the *Narasimha-p.*, used by Raghunandana and Narasimha Vājaṇeyin, agree more with that of the printed ed. than with the text used by Madanapāla.

verses and even large extracts, quoted by Hemādri from the 'Narasimha-p.' on different kinds of Vratas¹ and donations but not found in the present *Narasimha-p.*, show that the text of this Purāṇa as used by Hemādri was more extensive. Narasimha Vājaṇeyin explains the smaller bulk of the present *Narasimha-p.* saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous *Narasimha* is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."²

The mention of Tulasī in chaps. 31 (verse 87) and 34 (verses 19 and 23) and in the additional verses contained in the Dacca University Mss in their chapters corresponding to chap. 57 of the printed ed., should not be taken to go against the above date of the *Narasimha-p.* This mention is certainly due to later revisions of the Purāṇa; because, of the above-mentioned chapters containing the mention of Tulasī, chap. 31 (verses 1-97) has been found to be spurious; and *Nar.* 34, 19 does not occur in the Ms. ५ used in the printed ed. Moreover, in chap. 33, which deals with the results of various kinds of service rendered to Viṣṇu and of offering different articles to this deity, there is mention of 'bilva-patra' but not of Tulasī; nor is Tulasī mentioned in chaps. 56 (on the method of consecration of the images of Viṣṇu), 62 (on the Vedic method of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship).

It is probably due to the repeated revisions of the present *Narasimha-p.* that there are disagreements between a number of statements made even in those chapters which cannot be taken as spurious. For instance, in *Nar.* 3, 8 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have been the son of Dakṣa and his wife born respectively from Brahmā's right and left thumbs, but in *Nar.* 5, 22 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have given his daughter Prasūti in marriage to Dakṣa; in *Nar.* 3, 3-5 Rudra is said to have been born of Brahmā's rage (roṣa) but in *Nar.* 5, 4-5 it is said that when Brahmā was thinking of some worthy son at the beginning of the Brāhma Kalpa, the blue-red (nila-lohita) Rudra is said to have appeared on Brahmā's lap as a child with a body half male and half female; in *Nar.* 4, 2-4 Brahmā is said to have

¹ viz., *Narasimha-caturdaśī-vrata*, *Hari-vrata*, *Patra-vrata*, etc.

² *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18.

created from his mind ten sons (viz., Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Pracetas, Bhṛgu, Nārada and Vasiṣṭha), of whom Nārada took to abstention (nivṛtti-dharma), but in *Nar.* 5, 17-19 Brahmā is said to have created nine sons (Marici and others, except Nārada) who were known as ' nine Brahmās ' ; and so on.

Though the *Narasimha-p.* proposes to give ' in brief (saṁkṣepāt) the genealogies of kings which were elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇas',¹ the defects, found in these genealogies, seem to be due as much to the carelessness of the people of later ages in maintaining the correctness of these dynastic lists in their respective Mss as to their attempt at abridgment. For instance, in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed edition as well as the Dacca University Ms No. 284A mentions Aja as the son of Dīrghabāhu, but the Dacca University Ms No. 2713, though following the printed ed. in chap. 27, gives the pedigree of Aja as ' dīrghabāhor dillpaḥ dillpād raghuḥ raghor ajaḥ ' in chap. 22 ; in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed ed. as well as the Dacca University Ms No. 284A makes Māndhātṛ son of Asamhatāśva (v. l. Asamkhyātāśva in chap. 22 of the printed ed.), but in chap. 27 they give a popular verse in which Māndhātṛ is called Yauvanāśva (i. e. son of Yuvanāśva); the latter pedigree of Māndhātṛ is supported by the Dacca University Ms No. 2713 which mentions Māndhātṛ as the son of Yuvanāśva in chap. 22 (yuvanāśvān māndhātā); after *Nar.* 27, 1 the Mss used in the printed ed. have lost an extract² which is found in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 and 284A ; and so on. There are, of course, a few cases in which the disagreements are either to be removed by referring to other better Mss or to be ascribed to the revisions to which the extant *Narasimha-p.* was subjected. For instance, different pedigrees of Soma are given in chaps. 23 and 28 of the printed edition as well as the Dacca University Mss ;

¹ *Nar.* 22, 2. Also see *Nar.* 23, 1.

² viz., 'tat-putro veṇas tasya prthus tasya prthāśvaḥ (Ms No. 284A omits 'prthāśvaḥ') | prthāśvād asamhatāśvaḥ | te catvāro rājāno bhūritejasah kramād rājyaṁ kṛtvā (Ms No. 284A reads 'labdhvā' for 'kṛtvā') dharmato harim ananta- (Ms No. 284A inserts 'ebhogav' after 'ananta-') śayanam ārādhya bhaktya (Ms No. 284A omits 'bhaktya') kratubhis ceṣṭvā svarlokaṁ gataḥ | '

in chap. 22 Saudāsa's son is called Śatrundama in the printed edition as well as in the Dacca University Ms. No. 284A, and Śatrundana in the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713, but in chap. 27 he is called Satrasava in the printed edition, Satreśvara in the Dacca University Ms. No. 284A, and Satyaśrava in the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713; and so on.

The disagreements in the names and pedigrees of some of the kings in chaps. 22-23 (on the genealogies of the kings of the solar and lunar dynasties) on the one hand and chaps. 27-29 (on vaiṣṇānucarita, i. e. the accounts of the kings of these dynasties) on the other, are not real but are due to the editor of this Purāṇa who has not used sufficient number of Mss for his edition. For instance, in chap. 22 Prthāśva's son is Asaṁkhyātāśva in the Dacca University Mss, while in chap. 27 he is called Asaṁhātāśva in the printed ed. as well as in the Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Māndhātṛ's son is called Purukutsa in the printed ed. as well as in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A and 2713, but in chap. 27 māndhātṛ's son is named Purukuśya in the printed ed., Kurupuccha in the Dacca University Ms. No. 284A, and Purukutsa in the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713; in chap. 27 Dirghabāhu's father is named Anaraṇa in the printed ed. and Anarāṇya in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms. π used in the printed ed. but in chap. 27 he is called Anarāṇya in all these sources; in chap. 22 Padma's son is Anuparṇa in the printed ed. and Rṭuparṇa in the Dacca University Mss, but in chap. 27 he is called Rṭuparṇa in all these sources; and so on.

Though the *Matsya-p.*,¹ the *Skand-p.*² and the *Revā-māhātmya*³ attach the '*Narasimha-p.*' to the *Padma-p.* as a

¹ upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratīṣṭhitāḥ |
pādme purāṇe tatroktaṁ narasiṁhopavarṇanam |
taccāṣṭādaśasāhasraṁ nārasimham ibocyate || *Matsya-p.* 53, 59.

This verse is quoted by Hemādri (in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 533, and II, i, p. 21), Narasiṁha Vāṇapeyin (in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18), Jīva Gosvāmin (in his commentary, called *Krama-samdarbha*, on *Bhāgavata* XII, 7, 17-22) and Mitra Miśra (in his *Viramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14). Mitra Miśra does not quote the first line.

² VII, (Prabhāsa-kh.), i, 2, 79b-80. This verse is the same as *Matsya-p.* 53, 59 quoted above.

³ See Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65. The *Revā-māhātmya* claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.*

sub-division (upabheda) of the latter, the present *Narasimha-p.* always calls itself a 'Purāṇa'¹ and never an Upapurāṇa, nor does it attach itself to any Mahāpurāṇa for the sake of authority. As a matter of fact, in chap. 1, verses 33-34 it speaks of the five characteristics of 'Purāṇa', viz., sarga, pratisarga, vaimśa, manvantara and vaimśānucarita, and proposes to deal with all these topics, and in chap. 67, verses 17-18 it says that it has dealt with the five topics, viz., sarga, pratisarga etc; but it betrays no knowledge of the Upapurāṇas. So, it is evident that though according to later tradition the *Narasimha-p.* is classed as an Upapurāṇa, it is really an independent 'Purāṇa' like the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* etc.

It has already been said that the present *Narasimha-p.* knows the extant *Vāyu* and *Viṣṇu* and the earlier *Varāha-p.* Its mention of the word 'Purāṇa' in the plural number on several occasions to mean distinct Purāṇic works, shows that more Purāṇas than one came into existence before its composition.² It is not known whether the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* or the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is referred to in chap. 10 (verses 54-55) which seems to be a later addition.

A careful examination of the original and the spurious chapters of the present *Narasimha-p.* shows that this Purāṇa was originally a work of the Pāñcarātra sect with remarkable Bhāgavata inclination. The Pāñcarātras themselves added a few more chapters and extracts at a later date. It was then considerably changed by the Bhāgavatas with further additions and alterations.

The entire *Narasimha-p.*, as we have it now, is not composed in verse. There are a few chapters and extracts which are written in simple prose. These are the following:—*Nar.* 19, 7-23 (on the birth of the Aśvins); chap. 21 (on the origin of the Maruts); 22, 4-15 (on the names of the kings of the solar race); 23, 2-13 (on the names of the kings of the lunar race); 24, 1-36 (on the Manvantaras); 27, 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the

¹ See *Nar.* 1, 25; 1, 24; 1, 29; 67, 17; 67, 21, 22 and 25. See also the chapter-colophons. In the Mss also the *Narasimha-p.* is called a 'Purāṇa'.

² See *Nar.* 1, 24 (vyāsa-prasādājñānāmi purāṇāni tapodhanāḥ); 22, 2 (rājñāṃ vaimśaḥ purāṇeṣu vistareṇa prakīrtitah); 56, 10b-11a; 58, 108.

solar race); 28, 1-16 (on the accounts of the kings of the lunar race); 29, 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the lunar race); 30, 2-16 (except 5, which is a verse); 52, 25-31. A portion of chap. 9 is written in a peculiar metre with 25 syllables in each line.

The language of the *Narasimha-p.* contains numerous solecisms. For instance, it has 'abhūvan' for 'abhavan' (*Nar.* 1, 62), 'vyajāyata' for 'vyajanayat' (*Nar.* 5, 21), 'jajñe' for 'janayāmāsa' (*Nar.* 5, 29, 31 and 35), 'snāyanti' for 'snānti' (*Nar.* 6, 26), 'vedavidaiḥ' for 'vedavidbhiḥ' (6, 46), 'susamgita-vidaiḥ' for 'vidbhiḥ' (34, 36), 'māṭṛ-pitarau' for 'mātā-pitarau' (7, 14), 'vikṣayāmāsa' for 'vikṣāmāsa' (14, 23), 'vartatim' for 'vartamānām' (19, 15), 'manujān' for 'manujānām' (18, 12), 'pravartatim' for 'pravartamānām' (19, 17), and so on.

Like the other Purāṇic works, the *Narasimha-p.* also tries to give itself a garb of great sanctity and high antiquity by tracing its descent from Brahmā. In chap. 67, verses 19-22 it gives the following tradition of inheritance:—Brahmā himself spoke out this Purāṇa to the sages Marīci and others; the next recipient was Mārkaṇḍeya, who then narrated it to a king of the Nāga family; ¹ Vyāsa then received it through Narasimha's favour.

Nar. 57 (verses 8 to the end) and 58-61, which deal with the duties of the four castes and orders of life, are found printed word for word under the title *Hārīta-saṃhitā* in the *Īnaviṃśati Saṃhitā*.² These chapters also appear as *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* in Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's *Dharmaśāstra-saṅgraha* (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). Now, the question arises as to whether it was the *Hārīta-saṃhitā* (or *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*) which was incorporated in the *Narasimha-p.*, or the above-mentioned chapters of the *Narasimha-p.* were given the character of an independent Smṛti work under the title '*Hārīta-saṃhitā*' (or *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*). An examination of the *Hārīta-saṃhitā* shows that it was the

¹ For the reading 'rājño nāga-kulasya ha' of the printed ed., the Dacca University Mss Nos. 323 and 2713 read 'rājño vai nākulasya ha' and 'rājño vai nahuṣasya ha' respectively.

² Edited (with a Bengali translation) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B. S.

above-mentioned chapters of the present *Narasimha-p.* which were taken off and given the form of an independent work under the title ' *Hārīta-saṁhitā* ' (or ' *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* ') which was derived from the name of the original speaker Hārīta. The *Hārīta-saṁhitā* begins as follows :

ye varṇāśrama-dharmasthās te bhaktāḥ keśavam prati ।
 iti pūrvam tvayā proktaṁ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar dvijottamāḥ ॥
 varṇānām āśramānām ca dharmān no brūhi sattama ।
 yena samtuṣyate devo nārasimhaḥ sanātanaḥ ॥
 mārkaṇḍeya uvāca ।

atrāham kathayiṣyāmi purā-vṛttam anuttamam ।
 ṛṣibhiḥ saba saṁvādam hārītasya mahātmanah ॥

Of these verses, which are the same as *Nar.* 57, 8-10, the first shows that something has already been said, of which these verses form a continuation ; and in fact the first verse points to *Nar.* 57, 2-7 wherein Mārkaṇḍeya, being asked by king Sahasrānka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu thus :

viṣṇu-bhaktā mahotsāhā viṣṇuvarcana-vidhau sadā ।
 samyatā dharma-saṁpannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te ॥
 paropakāra-niratā guru-śūśrūṣaṇe ratāḥ ।
 varṇāśramācārayutāḥ sarveṣāṁ supriyamvadāḥ ॥

&c.

&c.

Though from a perusal of the *Hārīta-saṁhitā* we understand that Mārkaṇḍeya reports to a king named Sahasrānka what Hārīta said to the sages on the duties of the four castes and orders of life, nothing is said in the *Hārīta-saṁhitā* either about the identity of these two persons or about the occasion, time or place in which they met each other. Even the name of the king is given as late as in chap. 7 (verse 20). But it is the *Narasimha-p.* which tells us who king Sahasrānka was and how he met the sage Mārkaṇḍeya. We have already said that the *Narasimha-p.* is a work meant for the glorification of the worship of Narasimha. This character is betrayed by the *Hārīta-saṁhitā* also.¹ Moreover, none of the quotations made in their works by Viśvarūpa, Aparārka, Bhavadeva, Jimūtavāhana, Devanabhaṭṭa and Anī-

¹ See its introductory verse quoted above ; see also *Hārīta-saṁhitā* 2, 9 ; 4, 75-76a ; 7, 19.

ruddha-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-hārīta, Laghu-hārīta, Bṛhaddhārīta and Svalpa-hārīta is to be met with in our so-called *Hārīta-saṃhitā*. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' are traceable in the *Hārīta-saṃhitā*. For example,

the verses quoted from the
'Nṛsiṃha-p.' in Aparārka's
commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-*
smṛti,

Hārīta-saṃhitā

p. 79	=	3, 12 :
p. 125	=	4, 18-20 ;
p. 153	=	4, 60-61 ;
p. 189	=	4, 71, 72a, and 73a ;
p. 965	=	6, 11b-22.

These show that the chapters, now known as *Hārīta-saṃhitā* or *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*, originally belonged to the *Narasimha-p.* These chapters seem to be based on different Smṛti works such as the *Parāśara-smṛti* and the *Hārīta-dharmaśāstra* (as known to Devanabhaṭṭa) ; because *Parāśara-smṛti* I, 50 (vaiśvadeve tu samprāpte etc.) greatly resembles *Nar.* 58, 100-101a (akṛte vaiśvadeve tu etc.), and the verses 'anena vidhinā yo hi āśramān upasevate etc.' quoted from the '*Hārīta-dharmaśāstra*' in *Smṛti-candrīkā* I, p. 174 slightly resembles *Nar.* 58, 37 (evam yo vidhim āsthāya etc.).

Here we should like to say a few words on the contents of the *Narasimha-p.* as known to some of the Nibandha-writers. In his *Smṛtitattva* I, p. 351 Raghunandana quotes from the *Narasimha-p.* twenty-four metrical lines on general maxims (naya), such as 'One should give salutary advice to his friend in proper time, even though the latter does not ask for it' 'One should not begin any work which may create repentance in the end', 'One who believes the servants of the king or the bastards, do not live long', 'One should not allow the remaining part of the enemies, debt and fire to continue, because these increase again', and so on. He also quotes in *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 827 a verse on the proper time for marriage. In his *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 66 Raghunandana quotes from the same source a verse in which 'Tulasī' and 'Kṛṣṇa-tulasī' have been mentioned as pleasing to Hari. In his

Vidhāna-pārijāta I, p. 451 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Narasimha' seventeen metrical lines on dressing a child with clothes for the first time. In his *Calurvarga-cintāmāṇi* II, ii, pp. 41-49 Hemādri quotes a large extract of 173 metrical lines on a vow called Narasimha-caturdaśī which was given in the 'Narasimha-p.' in connection with the Narasimha-prādurbhāva. In this extract Nṛsimha, being asked by Prahlāda as to how he became devoted to Nṛsimha and was blessed with good, says that in his previous birth Prahlāda was a Brahman named Vāsudeva and was addicted to a prostitute and that this Vāsudeva performed no other good deed than a Vrata of Nṛsimha. Prahlāda again asked Nṛsimha to narrate in details the whole story. Consequently Nṛsimha said that in the city of Avantī there was a famous Brahman named Suśarman who mastered all the Vedas and performed all his duties. This Suśarman had a chaste and devoted wife named Suśīlā, who gave birth to five worthy sons, of whom Vāsudeva was the youngest. Unlike the other brothers, Vāsudeva was addicted to prostitutes, became a drunkard and stole gold for financing his evil deeds. Once he quarrelled with that prostitute and kept awake throughout the whole night without taking food. The prostitute also did so. Thus Vāsudeva unconsciously performed the Vrata of Nṛsimha, was born as Prahlāda, and became devoted to Nṛsimha. The prostitute became an Apsaras. Next, being asked by Prahlāda to describe the Vrata in details, Nṛsimha did so. Hemādri also quotes verses on Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, and offer of different articles such as Kamandalu, fruits, foot-wear, umbrella, clothes etc. to the Pitṛs in Śrāddha ceremonies. Śūlapāṇi also quotes verses on Śrāddha in his *Vrata-kalā-viveka*, *Śrāddha-viveka* and *Tīthi-viveka*. It is needless to say that none of these verses is found in the present *Narasimha-p.*

APPENDIX I

Edited by Uddhavācārya and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, Second edition, Bombay 1911.

This is a very careless edition based on three Mss which have been referred to simply as क, ख and ग, but of which no information or description has been given by the editor.

In this edition, the chapter immediately following chap. 10 is called eleventh at the beginning but twelfth at the end. As a matter of fact, chaps. 11 and 12 have been combined without any demarcation, though Ms. ग says that chap. 12 begins from verse 54.

Though I am fully conscious of the fact that no serious chronological deduction should be based on this worthless edition, the absence of any better, or even a second, edition of this Purāṇa has compelled me to utilise it here. I have however, consulted the three Mss preserved in the Dacca University Library and have not used any evidence which is not supported at least by these Mss.

For Mss. of this Purāṇa see,

(1) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss*, iii, pp. 1-5, No. 1020.

[This Ms. which consists of 63 chapters and was found at Navadvīpa is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1567. It begins as follows :-

om namo nṛsimhāya ।

tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra-jvalat-pāvaka-locana ।

vajrādrika-nakha-sparśa divya-siṃha namo'stu te ॥

nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-paripatad-asṛg-
arupīkṛta-gātraḥ ।

himakara-giririva guirika-gātro naraharir aharahar

avatu sa hy asmān ॥

himavad-vāsiṇaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ ।

tri-kāla-jñā mahātmāno naimiṣāranya-vāsiṇaḥ ॥

&c.

&c.

and end thus :

netrair mārtaṇḍa-caṇḍais tribhir anala-śikhā nyagvahadbhiḥ
pradīptaḥ

pāyād vo nārasimhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-daityaś
ciradyah ।

kim kim simhas tataḥ kīn nara-saḍṣa-vapur deva citṛam gr̥hītā
naivam dbik konvajived drutam upanayatām so' pi satyam
harīśah ।

cāpam cāpam nakhāngam jhaṭiti dāha dāha karkaśatvam
nakhānām

ity evam daitya-nātham nija-nakha-kulīśair jaghnivān yah
saroṣāt ॥

iti śrīnarasimhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini
para-brahma-svarūpiṇa idam ekam suniṣpannam dhyeyo
nārāyaṇaḥ sadā narāṇyadevāt param asti kimcit ।
śrīnarasimhapurāṇam samāptam ॥ 63 ॥

The list of its contents, as given by Mitra, shows that it lacks the story of Dhruva as occurring in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed edition ; the story of Prahlāda as given in chaps. 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43 and 44 (verses 1-13) of the printed edition ; the description of the characteristic evils of the Kali age as given in chap. 54, verses 8-61 of the printed edition ; as well as the chaps. 64 (on the interlocution of Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glories of Nārāyaṇa) and 68 (on the glorification of the *Narasimha-p.*) of the printed edition.

It also seems to lack the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras on the bank of the Revā for carrying away Draupadī by force (as given in chap. 33, verses 15-85 and chap. 34, verse 1 of the printed ed.) ; and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra ' om namo nārāyaṇāya ' (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.).

It inserts a chapter on praise of holy places (tīrthaprasāṁsā) in Ayodhyā immediately after the chapters on Rāma-prādurbhāva.]

(2) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*. pp. 82-83, Nos. 138-139.

[(i) Ms. No. 138, which consists of 62 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī scripts, begins as follows:-

nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc.

tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta jvalat-pāvaka-locana(h) ।

vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya simha namo'stu te ॥

pātu vo narasimhasya nakha-lāṅgala-koṭayaḥ ।
 hiraṇya-kaśipo vṛakṣa aṣṛkkaddamamāruṇāḥ ॥
 homavaddhāgninaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ ।
 tri-kāla-jñā mahātmāno naimiṣāraṇya-vāsiṇaḥ ॥

c

&c.

but its d and final colophon are not given by Aufrecht.

Aufrecht's description of its contents shows that it not only lacks, like Mitra's Ms, the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda and the description of the characteristics of the Kali age, but also the topics on Yoga (as found in chap. 61 of the printed ed.), and the enumeration of Tirthas (as found in chaps. 65-67 of the printed ed.)

It also seems to lack the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas, and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra.

The story of Rāma-prādurhāva is given in this Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed. (See also Dacca University Ms No. 2713, described below, which also gives in five chapters the contents of chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.)

It does not insert any chapter on praise of holy places in Ayodhyā.

(ii) Ms No. 139, which is written in Devanāgarī, is generally the same as the above Ms. but contains chaps. 65-67 (on Tirthas) of the printed ed.]

(3) Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp. 1211-14, Nos. 3375-79.

[(i) Of these five Mss, the first (Cat. No. 3375), which was copied in Devanāgarī scripts in 1798 A.D., consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the verses ' tapta-hāṭaka-keśagra ' and ' nakha-mukha-vidalita (v. l. vilikhita) -diti-tanayorah ' (with slight variations in readings) and ends thus :-

nṛsimhāsya-mahādeva-pūjite bhakta-vatsale ।
 loka-nāthe prabhau tena trailokya-pūjito bhavet ॥
 yo nārasimha-vapur āsthitaḥ purā
 hitāya lokasya dīteḥ sutaṁ yudhi ।
 nakhaiḥ sutikṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇaṁ

divaukasāṁ taṁ praṇamāmi keśavam ॥

iti śrīnṛsimhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini
 nāma satīrtha-varṇano nāmādhyāyaḥ ॥

It lacks chaps. 64 and 68 of the printed ed.

As Eggeling does not give the contents of the chapters, we do not know definitely whether this Ms. also lacks the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras, the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra, and the description of the evils of the Kali age. It is also not known whether it inserts a chapter on holy places in Ayodhyā.

(ii) The next two Mss (Cat. Nos. 3376-77), which also are written in Devanāgarī and of which the second one lacks the first Adhyāya, are practically the same as the preceding Ms. Their concluding verses are (with some variations in readings) the same as those of the Ms. noticed by Mitra, and their colophon is as follows :-

iti śrīnārasimhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekaṁ suniṣpannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā । na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit ॥ iti nārasimha-purāṇam samāptam ॥

(iii) The fourth Ms (Cat. No. 3378) is written in Devanāgarī by different hands. It was copied in about 1500-1600 A. D., its last five folios being supplied in 1789 A. D. It begins with the verse 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ'. In the modern portion of this Ms. the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled Mantra (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glories of Nārāyaṇa (as occurring in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) are given.

(iv) The fifth Ms. (Cat. No. 3379 on Rāma-prādurbhāva) is written in Devanāgarī and divided into six sections named after the six Kāṇḍas (ending with the Lankā-kāṇḍa) of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is practically the same as chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.]

(4) Hrishikesh Shastri and Shivachandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*), IV, pp. 29-30 (Ms. No. 36) and pp. 184-5 (Ms. No. 298).

[(i) Ms. No. 36 consists of 63 chapters and is written in Bengali characters. It is described by Shastri and Gui as ' not old. ' It begins with the verses ' tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra ' and ' nakha-mukha-vilasita-dititanayoraḥ ', and ends thus :

prasanne deva-deveṣe sarva-pāpakṣayo bhavet ।

pakṣinah pāpa-baddhās te muktīm yānti parām gatim ॥
 nakhaiḥ sutikṣṇair vvidadāra vairiṇaṃ
 divaukasāṃ taṃ prapamāmi keśavam ॥
 vyāsrg-bhūd-bhinna-bhāsvat-prthu-lalita-laṭācohādita
 kintvāmārgaḥ ।
 pātālaṃ prāpta-pādaḥ prakharatara-nakha-śrotaso
 nārasimhaḥ ॥
 kara-khara-nakharaiḥ bhinna-vrtyās ciraṃ vaḥ ॥
 kim kim siddhas tat kinvaḥ sadṛśa-vapumeṭaya citraṃ gṛhīto
 nevādhikaḥ so' pi jivendratamapanayatāṃ sopi nityaṃ
 harīśaḥ ।
 cāpamajasraganairdaśarjaghnivān yaḥ sa roṣate ॥
 iti śrīnarasimhapurāṇe triṣaṣṭitamo' dhyāyaḥ samāptaṃ cedam
 narasimhapurāṇam ॥

This Ms lacks at least chap. 61 of the printed ed.

In spite of its numerous mistakes it seems to resemble much the Ms described by Mitra as well as Dacca University Ms No. 2713 described below.

(ii) Ms. No. 298 is a 'very old' one written in Bengali scripts. It consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the verse *tapta-hātaka-keśāgra* and ends with the chapter dealing with the 68 holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavāṣṭagaṣṭi* = chap. 65 of printed ed.). It lacks at least chaps. 66-68 of the printed ed.

As the contents of the different chapters of these two Mss are not given in the Catalogue, it is not possible to say which more chapters of the printed edition are wanting in these two Mss.]

(5) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to simply as *ASB Cat.*), V, pp. 711-13, Nos. 4075-81.

[(i) No. 4076. It is written in Bengali scripts and dated Śaka 1617. It consists of 64 chapters, of which the 63rd chapter is named 'Tirtha-yātrā-prasānsā' (=chap. 66 of the printed ed.). The Catalogue gives us no information regarding the contents of the different chapters.

(ii) No. 4076A. It is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1586. No information regarding the number of its chapters or their contents is given by Shastri.

(iii) Nos. 4077-81. Of these five Mss the first is written in Kashmiri and dated Samvat 1898, the second is written in

Nāgara of the 18th century, and the remaining three are written in Bengali scripts. Of these remaining three Mss the first is dated Śaka 1623 and the third is dated Śaka 1639.

The numbers of chapters of these five Mss or their contents are not mentioned in the Catalogue.]

(6) A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II, Part i, p. 916 (Nos. 6616-18).

[(i) No. 6616. It is written in Grantha characters of about 1866-67 A. D. and consists of 61 chapters. Its beginning is very defective, and it ends with the verse 'yo nārasimhaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon runs as follows :- iti śrīnārasimha-purāṇe ekaśaṣṭitamo' dhyāyaḥ । śrī-lakṣma-nārasimhārpanam astu ॥ hariḥ om । kara-kṛtam aparādhaṁ kṣantum arhanti santaḥ.

(ii) No. 6617.— It is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali characters of about 1800 A. D. It begins with the same verses as those of Eggeling No. 3375.

(iii) No. 6618.— It deals only with geography and is not divided into chapters. It corresponds to chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-112) of the printed ed. and lacks the story of Dhruva as found in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed ed.]

(7) Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713, 323, and 284A.

[(i) Ms No. 2713, which was collected from Vaidyavāṭī in the district of Hoogly, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 98 folios, of which fol. 1 is damaged and fol. 2 is mutilated at the left side. It contains 63 chapters and is dated Śaka 1567. It is fairly correct. Like Mitra's Ms, it begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-ditanayorah', and ends thus :

prasanne deva-deveṣe sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet ।
 prakṣiṇa-pāpa-bandhās te muktim yānti parām punaḥ ॥
 yo nārasimhaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ purā
 hitāya lokasya diteḥ sutaṁ yudhi ।
 nakhaiḥ sutikṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇaṁ
 divaukasāṁ taṁ praṇamāmi keśavam ॥
 vyājambhad-bhinna-bhāsvat-prthu-lalita-śaṭācobā-
 ditārkendu-mārgaḥ
 pātāla-prāpta-pāda-prakhara-nakha-prota-śeṣāhi-bhogah ।
 netrair mārtaṇḍa-caṇḍais tribhir anala-sikhām
 udvabadbhiḥ pradiptaḥ

pāyād vo nārasimhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-
 daityaś ciradyah ||
 kim kim simhas tataḥ kim nara-sadrśa-vapur deva
 citraṁ grhīto
 naivam dhik ko nu jivet drutam upanayatām sopi
 satyaṁ harīśah ||
 cāpaṁ cāpaṁ na khadgaṁ jhaṭiti dha dha karka-
 śatvaṁ nakhānām
 ityevam daitya- nāthaṁ nija-nakha-kulīśair jaghnivān
 yaḥ sarogāt ||

iti śrīnārasimhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradā-
 yini parambrahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekam suniṣpannam dhyeyo
 nārāyaṇaḥ sadā | na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit śrīnārasimha-
 purāṇam samāptam | śrīrāma-cakravartināḥ pustakam idaṁ |
 śrīgopāla-śarmaṇaḥ svāksaram idaṁ | śubham astu śakābdāḥ
 1567 || terīkha 23 jyaisthaḥ || aṣṭamyaṁ śuklapakṣe tu guru-vāre
 samāptaś cāyam granthaḥ ||

The corresponding chapters in this Ms and the printed ed.
 are the following :—

<i>Ms</i>	<i>Printed ed.</i>	<i>Ms</i>	<i>Printed ed.</i>
Chaps. 1-29	= Chap. 1-29 respectively.	Chap. 48	= Chap. 54 (ver. ses 1-6).
Chap. 30	= Chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98- 113).	Chap. 49	= Chap. 54, verse 7 ; Chap. 55.
Chap. 31	= Chap. 32.	Chap. 50	= Chap. 56.
Chap. 32	= Chap. 33 (ver- ses 1-14) ; Chap. 34 (ver- ses 2-55).	Chap. 51 (except about 25 additional verses on selection of flowers and leaves for Viṣṇu- worship)	= Chap. 57 (ver. ses 1-7)
Chaps. 33-37	= Chaps. 35-39 respectively.	Chap. 52	= Chap. 57 (ver- ses 8-30).
Chap. 38	= Chap. 40 (except verses 60b-61b) ; Chap. 44 (ver- ses 14-43).	Chap. 53	= Chap. 58 (ver- ses 1-16).
Chaps. 39-44	= Chaps. 45-50 respectively.	Chap. 54	= Chap. 58 (ver- ses 17-38).
Chap. 45	= Chaps. 51-52.	Chap. 55	= Chap. 58 (ver- ses 39-115).
Chap. 46 (on holy places in Ayodhyā)	= x	Chaps. 56-59	= Chaps. 59-62 respectively.
Chap. 47	= Chap. 53.	Chap. 60	= Chap. 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b- 122).
		Chaps. 61-63	= Chaps. 65-67 respectively.

The above table shows that this Ms lacks the following sections of the printed ed. :—

Chap. 31, verses 1-97 , —	on the story of Dhruva ;
chap. 33, verses 15-85 ; } —	on the story of the killing of the
chap. 34, verse 1 } —	demons Bahuroman and Sthū-
	laśiras by the Pāṇḍavas :
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b ; } —	on the story of Prahlāḍa ;
chaps. 41-43 ;	
chap. 44, verses 1-13	
chap. 54, verses 8-61 —	on the characteristic evils of the
	Kali age ;
chap. 63, verses 10-119a —	on the story of Indra's getting
	rid of his female form by mutter-
	ing the eight-syllabled Mantra ;
chap. 64 —	dealing with the interlocution
	between Nārada and Puṇḍarika
	on the glories of Nārāyaṇa ;
chap. 68 —	on the glorification of the <i>Nara-</i>
	<i>siṃha-p.</i>

On the other hand, the printed edition lacks chap. 46 (on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 25 verses (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) of chap. 51 of the Ms.

This Ms deals with the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva in five chapters (viz., 41-45) as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed., chap. 45 of the former consisting of chaps. 51-52 of the latter.

The agreement between this Ms. and that described by Mitra is very close, and as both these Mss were copied in Śaka 1567, they are either based on the same original or derived from the same archetype.

(ii) Ms. No. 323, which was procured from Ulā in the district of Nadia, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 131 folios, of which fols. 37-40 (containing chaps. 19-27, and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed.) are missing and fol. 131 is wrongly numbered 139. It contains 64 chapters and is dated Śaka 1588.

It begins and ends with the same verses (though with occasional variations in readings) as the preceding Ms, and its final colophon (viz., iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-mokṣa-

pradāyini parambrahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekam suniṣpannam
dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā | na vāsudevāt param asti kimoit nāra-
simha-purāṇam samāptam | śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1588 | haraye
namaḥ govindāya namaḥ |) also agrees very closely with that
of the latter. (It should be mentioned here that the colophon of
its final chapter, which is almost the same as its final colophon,
runs thus :- iti śrī-nārasimha-purāṇe ādye na
vāsudevāt param asti kimoit prathamo' dhyāyaḥ |).

This Ms. lacks the same sections of the printed ed. as the pre-
ceding Ms. It also contains, like the preceding Ms., a chapter
(viz., chap. 47 on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 50 lines
(on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) in
chap. 52, which do not occur in the printed ed.

Thus this Ms seems to have been derived from the same
archetype as the preceding Ms. The difference in the number of
chapters in these two Mss is due to the fact that the story of
Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in the preceding Ms in five chapters
as against six (viz., chaps. 41-46) of the present one.

(iii) Ms No. 284A, which was procured from Nalāhāṭi in
the district of Burdwan, consists of 121 folios and is written in
Bengali scripts. It is dated Śaka 1742 and contains 53 chapters,
of which chaps. 44-53 are not numbered.

It begins with the verses ' nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya ', ' tapta-
hātaka-keśāgra ' and ' nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ ' and
ends thus :—

imaṁ stavam yaḥ paṭhate sa mānavaḥ prāpnoti viṣṇor amitāt-
makam hi tat || iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe dharmārtha-kāma-
moka-pradāyini param-brahma-svarūpiṇi vaiṣṇavāṣṭa-ṣaṣṭi-
nāmādhyāyaḥ ||

asya śrī-rājasimhasya prakṛtyālingito hariḥ |

rādhā-mohana-rāyasya prīto bhavatu sarvadā ||

yugma-śruty-aśva-candrāṅkita-śakamite bhāskare taiṣa yāte
natvālekhnīn murāreḥ kajanu-yuga-samam pāda-yugmam
surārcyam |

śrī-rādhā-mohanākhyā-kṣīṭipā-naraharer nārasimham purāṇam
gotrādevānvavāyaprabhava-kṛtamahāyatnasantāna āsu ||

In this Ms. chap. 53 consists of chaps. 57 (verses 8-20) and 65 of the printed edition. In verses 1-16 of chap. 53 of this Ms (which correspond to verses 8-20 of chap. 57 of the printed ed.) king Sahasrāṅka asks Mārkaṇḍeya to describe to him the duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma). Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya begins to report what Hārīta, being requested by some sages to speak on 'Varṇāśrama-dharma', 'Yoga-sāstra' and 'Viṣṇu-tattva' (cf. bhagavan sarvva-dharmamajña sarvva-dharmina-pravarttaka | varṇānām āśramāṇām ca dharmmān prabrūhi śāśvatān | samāsād yoga-sāstram tu yañ dhyātva mucyate naraḥ | viṣṇu-tattvaṃ muni-śreṣṭha tvaṃ hi naḥ paramo guruḥ), said to them on these topics. But in these verses Hārīta is found only to introduce his subject by briefly narrating the origin of the four castes and the place fit for their residence and to say nothing on Varṇāśrama-dharma etc. On the other hand, in verses 17ff. of this chapter (which corresponds to chap. 65 of the printed ed.) Sūta, being requested by Bharadvaja, names the 68 places sacred to Viṣṇu. Hence it is sure that in the original Ms from which our present one was copied, verses 1-16 of chap. 53 were followed by chapters on Varṇāśrama-dharma, Yoga and Viṣṇu-tattva, i. e. by chaps. 57 (verses 21-30-on the duties of Brāhmanas), 58-60 (on the duties of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, as well as of the students, householders, forest-hermits and Yatis), 61 (on Yoga), 62 (on the Vedic procedure of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122-on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship) of the printed ed. It is most probably due to the inadvertence of the scribe that these intervening chapters and verses have been omitted in our present Ms.

As, like the other two Mss, it lacks the following sections of the printed ed., viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97	—on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85	—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahurōman and Sthūlāsira,
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b;	} —on the story of Prahlāda,
chaps. 41-43;	
chap. 44, verses 1-13	
chap. 54, verses 8-61	—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age,

we may assume that the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocation between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glories of Nārāyaṇa (as given in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) were wanting in the original Ms from which our present one was copied.

(It should be mentioned here that the corresponding chapters of the Dacca University Mss on the one hand and the printed ed. on the other, differ not only in readings but also occasionally in the numbers of verses. For instance, after verse 31 of chap. 5 the Dacca University Mss have 12 verses which are not found in the printed ed.)].

(8) R. L. Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, pp. 207-8, No. 452.

This Ms is written in Nāgara and consists of only 41 chapters (so far as their number, given by Mitra in connection with the description of their contents, shows). The corresponding chapters of this Ms and the printed ed. are the following :—

Ms	Printed ed.	Ms	Printed ed.
Chaps. 1-29 =	Chaps. 1-29 respectively.	Chap. 32 =	Chaps. 33 (verses 1-14); 34
Chap. 30 =	Chaps. 30; 31 (verses 98-113).	Chap. 33 =	Chap. 35.
Chap. 31 =	Chap. 32.	Chaps. 34-41 =	Chaps. 36-39; 40 (except verses 60b-61b); 44 (verses 14-43); 45-47.

So this Ms, which ends after dealing with only a few of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is necessarily incomplete. It lacks the stories of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and the Pāṇḍavas who killed the demons Bahurōman and Sthūlāsiras for carrying away Draupadī by force.]

(9) P. P. S. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārājā Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library*, Tanjore, Vol. XV, pp. 7151-53, Nos. 10548-53.

[Of these Mss, the first (No. 10548) consists of 64 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāntarjvalat°' and ends with the verse 'yo nārasimhaṁ vapur āsthitāḥ purā'. Its colophon is as follows : iti śrīmannārasimha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpa-nirūpaṇe catuḥṣaṣṭitamo' dhyāyaḥ. The contents of its different chapters are not given in the Catalogue.

No information regarding the beginnings, ends and contents of the other Mss is given by Sastri.]

(10). Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vāṅgiya Sūhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta, p. 72, No. 1432.

[It contains chaps. 1-60 and is complete.]

(11) Stein, *Jammu Catalogue*, p. 202.

[One of these two Mss is complete and is written in modern Kāśmīri scripts, while the other deals with Lakṣmī-nṛsimha-sahasra-nāma.]

(12) *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares*, pp. 337 and 338.

(13) Haralal, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 224 and 248.

(14) Lewis Rice, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg*, p. 72.

(15) Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 188.

(16) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal*, p. 49.

[This Ms is written in Maithila scripts.]

APPENDIX II

(A)

The Dacca University Mss have the following verses after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed edition :—

prityām pulastya-bhāryāyām dattolis tat-suto'bhavat ।
 tasya vai viśravaḥ putras tat-putro rāvaṇādayaḥ ॥
 rākṣasā bahavaḥ proktā laṅkāpura-nivāsinaḥ ।
 yeśām vadhāya lokaśo viṣṇuḥ kṣīrodadhau purā ।
 brahmādyaiḥ prārthito devair avatāram ihākarot ॥
 karddamaś cāmbarīśaś ca sahiṣṇuś ca sūta-trayam ।
 kṣamā tu suṣuve bhāryā pulahasya prajāpateḥ ॥
 kratos tu sannatir bhāryā vālakhilyān asūyata ।
 śaṣṭis tāni sahasrāṇi ṛṣiṇām ūrdhva-retasām ।
 aṅguṣṭha-parva-mātrāṇām jvalad-bhāskara-tejasām ॥
 pracetaso'tha satyāyām satyasandhādayaḥ sutaḥ ।
 jātās tat-putra-pautrāś ca śataśo'tha sahasraśaḥ ॥
 ūrjāyām ca vaśiṣṭhasya saptājāyanta vai sutaḥ ।
 rajogātrordhvabāhuś ca sabalaś cānaghas tathā ॥
 sutapāḥ śukra ity ete sarve saptarṣayo'bhavan ॥
 bhrgoḥ khyātyām samutpannā lakṣmir viṣṇu-parigrabaḥ ।
 tathā dhātr-vidhātārau khyātyām jātau sutau bhrgoḥ ॥
 āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane ।
 dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutaḥ ubhau ॥
 prāṇaś caiva mṛkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ ।
 yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt ।
 tato vedaśirā jajñe prāṇasyāpi suto'bhavat ।
 dyutimān iti vikhyātaḥ sañjayaś tat-suto'bhavat ॥
 tato vaṁśo mahābhāga bhārgavo vistaram gataḥ ॥

See Mss No. 284A (fol. 8b-9b), 323 (fol. 9b-10a), and 2713 (fol. 7a-b).

Of the variations in readings in these Mss, the following are more important :—

- Ms No. 2713 reads 'kapardha' for 'karddhama°' in line 6 ;
- Ms No. 323 reads 'sumati°' for sannati° in line 8 ;
- Ms No. 284A reads 'sandhyāyām' for 'satyāyām' in line 11 ;
- Mss No. 323 and 2713 read 'satyasandhās trayah' for 'satya-sandhādayaḥ' in line 11 ;
- Ms No. 284A reads 'savara°' for 'sabala°' in line 14.

(B)

After verse 7 of chap. 57 of the printed edition, the Dacca University Mss have the following verses :—

puṣṭair aranya-sambhūtaiḥ patrair vā giri-sambhavaḥ |
 aparyuṣita-nīśchidraiḥ prokṣitair jantu-varjitaiḥ ||
 ātmārāmodbhavair vāpi puṣṭaiḥ sampūjayeddharim |
 puṣpa-jāti-viśeṣais tu bhavet puṇyam viśeṣataḥ ||
 tapah-śīla-guṇopete pātre vedasya pārage |
 daśa datvā suvarṇāni yat phalam labhate naraḥ |
 tat phalam labhate martyo harau kusuma-dānataḥ ||
 droṇa-puṣṭe tatṥaikasmin mādnavāya nivedite |
 daśa datvā suvarṇāni yat phalam tadavāpnuyāt |
 evaṁ puṣpa-viśeṣeṇa phalam tadadhikam nrpa |
 jñeyam puṣpāntareṇaiva yathā syāt tan nibodha me ||
 droṇa-puṣpa-sahasrebhyaḥ khādiram samviśiṣyate |
 khādirebhyaḥ sahasrebhyaḥ śami-puṣpam viśiṣyate ||
 śami-puṣpa-sahasrebhyo bilva-puṣpam viśiṣyate |
 bilva-puṣpa-sahasrebhyo vaka-puṣpam viśiṣyate ||
 vaka-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi nandyāvartam viśiṣyate |
 nandyāvarta-sahasrebhyaḥ karavīram viśiṣyate ||
 karavīra-sahasrebhyaḥ śvetam tat puṣpam uttamam |
 karavīra-śveta-puṣpāt palāśam puṣpam uttamam ||
 palāśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kuśa-puṣpam viśiṣyate |
 kuśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi vana-mālā viśiṣyate ||
 vana-mālā-sahasrāddhi campakam puṣpam iṣyate |
 campakānām puṣpa-śatād aśokam puṣpam uttamam |
 aśokānām sahasrāddhi samantī-puṣpam uttamam |
 samantī-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kubja-puṣpam viśiṣyate |
 kubja-puṣpa-sahasrāt tu mālātī-puṣpam uttamam |
 mālātī-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi sandhyāraktam taduttamam ||
 sandhyārakta-sahasrāddhi tri-sandhyā-śvetam uttamam |
 tri-sandhyā-śveta-sahasrāt kunda-puṣpam viśiṣyate ||
 kunda-puṣpa sahasrāddhi śata-patram viśiṣyate |
 śatapatra-sahasrāddhi mallikā-puṣpam uttamam ||
 mallikā-puṣpa-sahasrāj jāti-puṣpam viśiṣyate |
 sarvāsām puṣpa-jātinām jāti-puṣpāni cottamam |
 jāti-puṣpa-sahasreṇa yo mālām nityaśo dadet |
 viṣṇave vidhivad bhaktyā tasya puṇya-phalam śrṇu ||

kalpa-koti-sahasrāṇi kalpa-koti-śatāni ca ।
 vased viṣṇu-pure śrīmān viṣṇu-tulya-parākramah ॥
 śeṣāṇāṃ puṣpa-jātinām yat phalaṃ vidhi-coditam ।
 tat-phalasyānusāreṇa viṣṇu-loke mahīyate ॥
 patrāṇy api supuṣpāṇi hareḥ prīti-karāṇi ca ।
 pravakṣyāmi nṛpa-śreṣṭha śṛṇuṣva gadato mama ।
 apāmārga-patram prathamam tasmād bhrṅgāraṇam param ।
 tasmāt tu khadiram śreṣṭham tasmāt tu śaṃi-patrakam ॥
 dūrva-patram tataḥ śreṣṭham tato'pi kuśa-patrakam ।
 tasmād āmalakam śreṣṭham tato bilvasya patrakam ॥
 bilva-patrād api hareḥ tulasī-patram uttamam ॥
 eteṣāṃ tu yathā-labdhaiḥ patrair vā yo'receddharim ।
 sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate ॥
 evaṃ hi rājan narasimha-mūrteḥ priyāṇi puṣpāṇi tavetarāṇi ।
 etaiś ca nityaṃ harim areya bhaktyā naro viśuddho harim
 eva yāti ॥

See Mss Nos. 284A (fol. 118a-119a), 323 (fol. 114a-115a),
 and 2713 (fol. 86b-87b).

The important differences in readings in these Mss are the following :—

Ms No. 284A omits ' śaṃi-puṣpāṇi viśiṣyate । śaṃi-puṣpa-sahasrebhyaḥ ' in lines 13-14 ;

Ms No. 323 omits line 18 (karavīra-sahasrebhyaḥ etc.) ;

Ms No. 323 omits ' vanamālā viśiṣyate । vanamālā-sahasrā-ddhi ' in lines 21-22 ;

for ' samantī ' in lines 24 and 25, Ms 284A (after marginal correction) reads ' sevantī ' , and Ms No. 323 reads ' semantī ' ;

Ms No. 2713 omits lines 33 (sarvāsāṃ puṣpa-jātinām etc.) :

Ms No. 2713 reads ' damanakam ' for ' āmalakam ' in line 45.

APPENDIX III

Verses quoted from the ' *Narasimha-p.* ' or ' *Narasimha-p.* '
or ' *Nārasimha* ' in

1 Aparārka's com. on the <i>Yājñavalkya-smṛiti</i> ,	<i>Narasimha-p.</i>	<i>Narasimha-p.</i>
		p. 965 = 60, 12-15, 17 ^a -e, 16 and 17 ^f -h.
p. 79	= 58, 34 ^b -35 ^a .	
p. 125	= 58, 58 ^b -59.	The verses 'udghāṭayec ca kavacam' and 'catu- raṅgulaiḥ prakṣālya' and the line 'yati- dharmarataḥ', which are not found in the printed ed., occur in chap. 57 of the Dacca University Ms No. 2713 (fol. 93 ^a).
p. 131	= 58, 88 ^b -89.	
	The verse 'dadyāt sarva- grahebhyaś ca' is not found in the <i>Nara- simha-p.</i>	
p. 141	= 63, 3-4; 18, 5; and 63, 5-6.	
p. 153	= 58, 98 ^b -99 ^a , 100 ^a and 101 ^a .	
p. 162	= 58, 11 ^b and 13 ^b .	
p. 189	= 58, 109-110 ^a .	
	The line 'nīyamānam śavam dṛṣtvā', which is not found in the printed ed. of the <i>Narasimha-p.</i> , occurs in the Dacca University Ms No. 2713, fol. 92 ^a (chap. 55).	
p. 951	= 58, 36.	
	The verses 'agārād abhi- niṣkrāntaḥ' and 'rāgādi- viṣayāsaṅga' are not found in the <i>Narasimha-</i>	
		2 <i>Dānasāgara</i> of Vallālasena. fol. 20 ^b = 58, 51 ^b -52 ^a . „ 24 ^b = 58, 78 ^b -82. „ 124 ^b = 30, 36. Three lines from 'kapi- lām lakṣanopetām' do not occur in the <i>Nara- simha-p.</i> „ 130 ^a = 30, 36. „ 137 ^b = 30, 33 ^b . „ 168 ^b = 30, 35. „ 174 ^a - ^b = 34, 50 ^a , 49 ^a , etc. Many verses are not found in the <i>Narasimha-</i> <i>p.</i> „ 180 ^b = 30, 34 ^a . „ 223 ^a = 30, 37 ^b . „ 232 ^b = 30, 40 ^b .

- Narasimha-p.*
 fol. 276^b = 30, 32.
 „ 292^b (twice) = 34, 39^e and 39^c; 34, 37^b-38.
 The line 'gavām sahasra-dānena' which is not found in the printed ed., occurs in the Dacca University Mss. Nos. 284A (fol. 57^b), 523 (fol. 51^a) and 2713 (fol. 44^a).
- 3 *Smṛti-candrikā*
 of Devaṇabhṭṭa,
 I, p. 178 = 58, 34^b.
 II, pp. 341-2 = 30, 12.
 p. 353 = 58, 58^b-59^a.
 The lines 'upasya pascimām samdhyām' and 'gāyātrīm abhyaset tāvat' are not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
 p. 485 = 58, 65.
 p. 488 ---This verse occurs in chap. 55 of the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713 (fol. 90^b).
 p. 528 = 58, 91^b-93^a.
 p. 531 = 58, 92^b-93^a.
 p. 540 = 34, 7.
 pp. 540-1 = 34, 17^b-18^a.
 pp. 541-2 ---These 13 verses, which are not found in the printed ed., occur in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B).
- Narasimha-p.*
 p. 548 --- Given in footnote 2 on p. 103 of the printed ed.
 p. 561 = 58, 93.
 4 *Madana-pūrijāta*
 of Madanapāla,
 p. 298 = 58, 91^b-93^a.
 pp. 301-2. ---These 16 verses occur in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B).
 Some of these verses resemble *Nar.* 34, 18^b, 21, 23^b-24^a and 27^b.
 5 *Kṛtyācūṛa*
 of Śrīdatta Upadhyaṃya (Dacca University Ms. No. 4339).
 fol. 6^b-7^a ---This verse occurs in chap. 55 of the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713 (fol. 90^b).
 „ 13^b (twice) = 58, 46^b-47.
 (The line 'tintanī venuprsthām ca' is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*).
 58, 49^a
 fol. 14^b = 58, 50^b-52^a.
 „ 15^a = 58, 58^b-59^a.
 „ 28^b = 58, 72^b-73.
 „ 37^b-38^a = 58, 77, 85^b and 87-88^a.

- Narasimha-p.*
- fol. 46^a —refers to 58,
88-91.
- „ 58^b = 28, 34^b-35^a.
- „ 60^b (twice) = 32, 18 : 58,
91^b-93.
- „ 67^a = 58, 98^b-99^a,
100^a and
101^a.
- 6 *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*
of Hemādri,
I, pp. 164-165 = 30, 27^b-36^a
and 39-41^a.
p. 165 = 30, 43^b-44^a.
II, i, pp. 510-512 = 26, 2-20.
II, ii, p. 14 = 67, 10-11.
p. 521 = 67, 8.
III, i, p. 890 = 58, 65.
p. 897 —This verse occurs
in chap. 55 of the
Dacca University
Ms No. 2713 (fol.
90^b).
III, ii, p. 759 = 58, 109-
110^a.
- 7 *Mādhavācārya's*
com. on the
Parāśara-smṛti,
I, i, p. 261 = 58, 88^b-89.
pp. 303-5 = 58, 78^b-82.
'The verses 'uttamaṁ
mānasam japyam' and
'vācikasyaikamekaṁ
syād' are not found in
the *Narasimha-p.*
p. 364 = 58, 92^b-93^a.
p. 378 = 58, 93.
pp. 406-7 = 58, 98^b-99^a.
p. 408 = 58, 100-101^a.
I, ii, p. 149 = 58, 36.
- Narasimha-p.*
- p. 156 = 60, 2-4.
p. 192 = 60, 13^b-14,
17d-e, 16 and
17f-g.
The lines 'caturāṅgu-
len', 'sarva-vyañjana-
saṁyuktam' and 'yater
dharma-rataḥ' are not
found in the *Nara-
simha-p.*
- 8 *Dīpa-kalikā* of
Śūlapāṇi (Dacca
University Ms
No. 602),
fol. 22^a = 58, 11^b and
13^b.
- 9 *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*
of Vācaspati-
miśra,
p. 279 = 65, 23^b-24^a.
- 10 *Nityācāra-paddhati*
of Vidyākara
Vājapeyin,
p. 32 = 8, 40.
p. 61 (twice) = 58, 51^b : 58
50^b-51^a.
p. 87 — cf. 58, 67^b
and 71^b.
p. 313 = 58, 89.
pp. 385-6 = 15, 8.
p. 505 = 63, 3^a.
p. 511 = 63, 2.
- 11 *Kṛtya-tatvavṛṇana*
of Śrīnāthācārya-
cūdāmaṇi (Dacca
University Ms.
No. 49),
fol. 81^a = 58, 72^b-73^a.
p. 83^a = 58, 13^b.

12 *Varṣa-kaumudī* Narasimha-p.
of Govindānanda,

p. 147 = 62, 6.

p. 168 —These verses occur
in the Dacca Uni-
versity Mss. See
Appendix II (B).
The line 'viṣṇave
vidhivat' and
'kalpa-kotīsa-
srāṇi' also tally
with *Nar.* 34, 27^b
and 21^b res-
pectively.

p. 171 = 34, 24^b-25^a.

p. 174 = 62, 14^a.

p. 178 = Given in
foot-note on p. 103
of the *Narasimha-p.*
The verse 'urasā
śirasā' is not found
in the *Narasimha-p.*

p. 199 = 62, 7^b-8^a.

pp. 200-201 = 62, 4, 17 and
8^b-15^a.

p. 251 = 58, 109^b-110.

p. 496 = 30, 32.

p. 501 = 58, 109^a-110^a.

p. 542 = 67, 8.

pp. 569-70 = 58, 11^b and
13^b.

13 *Śuddhi-kaumudī*
of Govindānanda,

p. 313 = 53, 72^b-73^a,

p. 342 — cf. 58, 73-76.

14 *Śrāddha-kaumudī*
of Govindānanda,

p. 146 = 58, 72^b-73^a.

15 *Dāna-kaumudī* Narasimha-p.
of Govindānanda,

p. 51 = 30, 37^b,

16 *Smṛti-tattva*
of Raghunandana.

I, p. 21 — cf. 62, 10.

p. 39 = 58, 109-110^a.

p. 110 = 67, 7.

p. 146 = 67, 13-14
and 15.

p. 342 (thrice) = 58, 48^b-49^a,
47-48^a and
50^b-52^a.

The line 'tintiḍi
etc.' is not
found in the
Narasimha-p.

p. 364 = 58, 72^b-73^a.

p. 391 = 58, 78^b-82.

p. 394 (twice) = 58, 91^b-92^a.

Three lines from
'arghyaṁ dad-
yāt tu sūryāya'
are not found in
the *Narasimha-p.*

p. 396 = 33, 13-14.

The verse 'tato
grhārcanam
kuryāt' is not
found in the
Narasimha-p.

p. 408 = 63, 3 and 5^a-^b:
18, 5.

The verse 'dhyā-
tvā prapava-
pūrvam tu' is
not found in the
Narasimha-p.

	<i>Narasimha-p.</i>		<i>Narasimha-p.</i>
p. 409	= 62, 14 ^a : 8, 22 : 62, 10. The line 'su- gandha-sumano- dhūpa°' is not found in the <i>Narasimha-p.</i>	p. 61 = 32, 19. p. 66 = 34, 18 ^b -20.	—The verse 'aparyu- sitanischidraih' is found in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B). The verse 'ketakti- patra-puspm ca' is not found in the <i>Narasimha-p.</i>
p. 410	—These two lines occur in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B).	pp. 72-73	= 18, 3 : 18, 5 and 8 ^a - ^b . The verses 'sarva- vedānta-sārārtha°' and 'yasya yāvānś ca viśvā- sah' are not found in the <i>Narasimha-</i> <i>p.</i>
p. 411 (twice)	= 34, 18 ^b -20. —The verse 'saml- patra-sahasrebh- yah', which is not found in the prin- ted ed., occur in the Dacca Univer- sity Mss. See Ap- pendix II (B).	p. 76	= 28, 34 ^b -35 ^a . The verse 'urasā śirasā drṣṭyā' is not found in the <i>Narasimha-p.</i>
pp. 417-8	= 28, 34 ^b -35 ^a . The verse 'ahany ahaniyo martyo' is not found in the <i>Narasimha-p.</i>	p. 84	= 66, 45. = 30, 29-30 ^a . = 32, 13-14 and 19 ^b -20. = 34, 11.
p. 419	= 58, 93. —The verses 'aparā dhasahasrāpi' and 'śnānam dānam ja pah śraddham' are not found in the <i>Narasimha-p.</i>	p. 284	—The line 'brahma- kūrca-vidhānena' is given in foot- note 3 on p. 101 of the printed ed.
p. 456	= 66, 45.	p. 650	62, 14 ^a = 62, 14 ^a .
p. 743	= 67, 13-15.		
II, p. 59	= 34, 12-13.		
p. 60	= 58, 48 ^b -49; 62, 14 ^a .		

- 17 *Durga-pūjā-* *Narasimha-p.*
tattva of
 Raghunandana,
 p. 16 = 62, 14^a.
- 18 *Haribhakti-vilāsa*
 of Gopālabhāṭṭa,
 p. 22 . = 18, 33.
 p. 142 = 66, 45.
 p. 152 = 58, 92^b-93^a.
 p. 155 = 33, 14.
 The verse 'saṁm-
 ārjanam yaḥ kurute'
 is not found in the
Narasimha-p.
- p. 159 = 34, 13.
 p. 287 = 34, 4.
 p. 292 = 34, 5.
 p. 297 = 34, 6-9^a.
 The verse 'duḥsva-
 pna-samanam jāe-
 yam' and the line
 'loka-mitrāṇy avā-
 pnoti' are not found
 in the *Narasimha-*
p.
- p. 298 = 34, 12.
 pp. 300-1 = 34, 2-3, 6,
 14^c-15^a and
 14^a-^b.
- p. 314 = 34, 16^b-17^a.
 p. 318 = 34^a, 38^a-^d.
 p. 326 —These three lines,
 which are not fou
 nd in the printed
 ed., occur in the
 Dacca University
 Ms. —See Appendix
 II (B).
- p. 330 = 34, 18^b-19^a
 and 20

- Narasimha-p.*
 —The three lines
 'tapah-sīla-guṇo-
 pete' etc. and the
 verse 'evam hi rāj-
 an' occur in the
 Dacca University
 Mss.—See Appen-
 dix II (B).
- p. 331 —These five lines,
 though not found
 in the printed ed.,
 occur in the Dacca
 University Mss.—
 See Appendix II
 (B).
- pp. 331-2 —These lines occur
 in the Dacca Uni-
 versity Mss. —See
 Appendix II (B)
- p. 354 —These lines occur
 in the Dacca Uni-
 versity Mss.—See
 Appendix II (B)
- p. 377 = 34, 24^b-26.
 p. 382 = 34, 27-28.
 p. 398 = 34, 29-30.
 p. 403 = 34, 3 (except 31^c).
 p. 408 = 34, 34^d-37^a
 p. 423 = 34, 34^b-^c.
 p. 426 —This verse is gi-
 ven in foot note 2
 on p. 103 of the
 printed ed.
- p. 429 = 8, 45.
 p. 432 = 34, 32-33^a.
 p. 441 = 28, 34^b-35^a.
 The verse 'kṛṣṇasya
 paritosepsuh' is not
 found in the *Nara-*
simha-p.

- Narasimha-p.*
- p. 544 = 9, 2-3 and 5.
 p. 621 = 54, 39^c and 39^c.
 The lines 'asvamedhasya yajñasya' and 'gavāṁ sahasra-dānasya' are not found in the printed ed.
 p. 639 = 32, 18-19; 8, 21-23.
 p. 663 = 8, 31.
 p. 688 = 8, 27.
 p. 728 = 8, 29.
 p. 1099 = 58, 78^b-82.
 p. 1117 = 32, 13.
 p. 1175 = 32, 14, 15 and 20.
 The verse 'sakāmo narasimhasya' is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
 p. 1290 = 32, 12.
19 Nityācāra-pradīpa
 of Narasimha Vājapeyin,
 p. 187 = 58, 80-82 and 79^b.
 p. 238 = 8, 40.
 p. 261 — This verse occurs in chap. 55 of the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713 (fol. 90^b).
 p. 283 = 58, 47.
 The line 'tintidī veṇu-praṭhaṁ ca' is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
 p. 286 = 58, 50^b-52.^a
 p. 287 = 58, 51^b.
 p. 310 — This verse
- Narasimha-p.*
- occurs in chap. 55 of the Dacca University Ms. No. 2713 (fol. 90^b).
 p. 365 = 58, 77.
 p. 387 = 58, 88.
 p. 496 = 7, 63-70 and 74^a.
 p. 556 = 33, 13-14; 34, 2-3.
 p. 557 = 34, 34^d-35 and 37^a.
 pp. 558-560 = 34, 12, 6-11 and 13-16^a.
 The line 'brahma-kūrca-vidhānena' is given in foot-note 3 on p. 101 of the printed ed.
 Eight lines from 'gāyatrī caiva gomūtram' to 'dadhni vāyuh sadā devaḥ' are not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
 p. 599 = 28, 24^b-35^a.
 Also refers to the contents of chap. 28 of the *Narasimha-p.*
 p. 607 = 34, 17^b-18^a.
 p. 615 — These three verses occur in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B).
 p. 616 — The verses 'droṇa-puṣpe' and 'eteṣāṁ ca' occur in the Dacca University Mss. See Appendix II (B).

- Narasimha-p.*
- There is also reference to the contents of some of the verses given in Appendix II (B).
- p. 617 = 34, 18^b-19^a and 20
The line 'etaiṣ ca nityam' is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
- p. 644 = 34, 21^b-26.
- p. 649 = 34, 27-28.
- p. 665 = 34, 29-30.
- pp. 676-7 = 34, 31^a-a.
- p. 697 = 34, 16^b-17^a, 37^b-38 and 39^b-e.
—The last verse is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*
- p. 729 = 63, 6-8^b and 5^b.
- 20 *Kūlasūtra* of Gadādhara,
- p. 323 —This line, which is not found in the printed ed., occurs in chap. 55 of the Dacca University Ms No. 2713 (fol. 92^a).

- Narasimha-p.*
- p. 507 = 58, 50^b-51^a.
- 21 *Vidhāna-pārijāta* of Anantabhaṭṭa,
- I, pp. 592-6 = 34, 49^a, 49^b-51^a, 44^a, 48, 44^b-45^a, 46-47, 45^b, 51^b-54, and 55. 35, 1-5^a and 6^b-25.
- The verses 'hasantīm pratimām drṣtvā' and 'tathā mahājvaragraste', which are not found in the printed ed., occur in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fol. 58^a), 323 (fol. 51^b : the line 'prasveda-yuktam' is not found in this Ms), and 2713 (fol. 44^b).
- The line 'bhaktyā prapūjayat' is not found in the *Narasimha-p.*

APPENDIX IV

The quotations made from the 'Narasimha-p.' (or 'Nṛsimha-p.' or 'Nārasimha') in the following works are not found in the present *Narasimha-p.*

- (1) *Dānasāgara*, fol. 173^b.
- (2) *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 211.
- (3) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, ii, pp. 41-4^a, 375, 376-7 (?), 381-2; III, i, pp. 245, 432-3, 680, 702-3, 720, 738, 929-930; III, ii, pp. 505, 673, 852.
- (4) *Dīpa-kalikā* (Dacca University Ms No. 602), fol. 97^b.
- (5) *Śrīuddha-vivēka* (Dacca University Ms No. 151A), fol. 2^a.
- (6) *Vrata-kāla-vivēka* (Dacca University Ms No. 1578^c) fol. 3^b.
- (7) *Tīlhi-vivēka* (Dacca University Ms No. 403D), fol. 4^b.
- (8) *Nityācāri-paddhati*, pp. 495, 505-6, 530.
- (9) *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 100.
- (10) *Smṛti-tatva*, I, pp. 351, 414, 415, 762, 827; II, p. 626.
- (11) *Haribhakti-vitāsa*, pp. 156, 431, 660, 710.
- (12) *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 181, 512.
- (13) *Kālasāra*, p. 145.
- (14) *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, I, p. 451.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS—
HISTORY OF CAṆAKA (GRAM) AS FOOD FOR
HORSES—BETWEEN C. A. D. 800 AND 1870
TOGETHER WITH SOME NOTES ON THE
IMPORT OF FOREIGN HORSES
INTO INDIA IN ANCIENT AND
MEDIAEVAL TIMES

BY

P. K. GODE

A friend of mine in the Bombay Agricultural Department, who was interested in the history of several Indian crops, once asked me if I could study the history of *Caṇaka* or *gram* used by men and horses in India to-day. I promised him to write some paper on *Caṇaka* and its antiquity on the strength of Indian sources. I put a counter-question to my friend: *Can you tell me when Caṇaka or gram came to be used as food for horses?* My friend could not answer this question for want of evidence. I, therefore, propose to record in this paper some evidence which throws some light on this question from the Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources available to me.

Yule and Burnell have recorded some useful information on *Gram* or *Caṇaka* in the *Hobson-Jobson*, London, 1903, pp. 392-393 as follows:—

GRAM S.—This word is properly the Portuguese *grão* i. e. 'grain' but it has been specially appropriated to that kind of vetch (*cicer arietinum*, L.) which is the most general grain—(rather pulse-) food for horses all over India, called in H. *Chana*. It is the Ital. *cece*, Fr. *pois chiché*, Eng. *chick-pea* or Egypt. *pea* much used in France and S. Europe. This specific application of *grão* is also Portuguese as appears from Bluteau. The word *gram* is in some parts of India applied to other kinds of pulse, and then this application of it is recognized by qualifying it as *Bengal gram*. (See remarks under CALAVANCE). The plant exudes oxalate of potash, and to walk through a gram-field in a wet morning is destructive to shoe-leather. The natives collect the acid."

The following dated usages of the word GRAM are then recorded in the *Hobson-Jobson* :—

A. D. 1513—"And for the food of these horses (exported from the Persian Gulf) the factor supplied *grāos* "

—*Albuquerque, Cartas* p. 200

Letter of December 4.

A. D. 1554—(Describing Vijayanagar)—"There the food of horses and elephants consists of *grāos*, rice and other vegetables cooked with *jagra*, which is palm-tree sugar, as there is no barley in that country "

—*Castanheda*, Bk. ii, Ch. 16.

C. A. D. 1610—"They give them also a certain grain like lentils "

—*Pyrard de Laval*. Hak. Soc. ii, 79.

A. D. 1702—".....he confessing before us that their allowance three times a week is but a quart of rice and gram together for five men a day, but promises that for the future it shall be rectified "

—In *Wheeler*, ii, 10.

A. D. 1776—".....Lentils.....gram.....mustard seed "

—*Halhed's Code*, p. 8 (Pt. ii).

A. D. 1789—"gram, a small kind of pulse, universally used instead of oats "

—*Munroe's Narrative*, 85.

A. D. 1793—".....gram which it is not customary to give to bullocks in the Carnatic "

—*Dirrom's Narrative*, 97.

A. D. 1804—"The gram alone for the four regiments with me has in some months cost 50,000 pagodas "

—*Wellington*, iii, 71.

A. D. 1865—"But they had come at a wrong season, gram was dear, and prices low and the sale concluded in a dead loss "

—*Palgrave's Arabia*, 290.

Gram-fed—adj. Properly the distinctive description of mutton and beef fattened upon gram which used to be the pride of Bengal. But applied figuratively to any ' pampered creature '.

in the article on CALAVANCE (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 145) we are told that the word *Calavance* comes from the Span. *grabanços*, which De Candolle mentions as Castilian for ' *pois chiche* ' or *cicer arietinum* (= gram)

The above usages of *gram* as food for horses and men, take its history upto A. D. 1513. I shall now trace this history backward from A. D. 1513.

Narahari in his medical glossary called the *Rājanighaṇṭu*¹ composed in Kashmir C. A. D. 1450² refers to चणक or gram as " वाजिभक्ष " (food for horses) in the following verse:—

“ चणस्तु हरिमन्थः स्यात् सुमन्थः कृष्णकञ्चुकः ।

बालभोज्यो वाजिभक्षश्चणकः कञ्चुकी च सः ॥ ”

In the two special treatises on horses, which are definitely earlier than Narahari's *Rājanighaṇṭu* we get some references to *Canaka* as food for horses. These treatises are (1) अश्ववैद्यक³ of महासामन्त जयदत्त and (2) अश्वचिकित्सित⁴ of नकुल.

References to चणक in the अश्ववैद्यक of जयदत्त are as follows :—

Page 106 (chap. 11 — द्रव्यमात्रा विवरणम्)

“ चणकाश्चैव माषाश्च ये चान्ये व्रीहयस्तथा ।

यवाञ्चैनं प्रयोक्तव्या देशसात्त्वेन खादने ॥ ९ ॥ ”

Here चणक or gram is definitely prescribed for the regimen of horses along with यव,⁵ माष, and व्रीहि. The editor in explaining the above observes :—

¹ Quoted on p. 212 of अष्टाङ्गहृदयकोष by K. M. Vaidya, Trichur, 1936.

² *Hobson Jobson* (p. 476) refers to *Kitchery* (खिचड़ी) as food for horses :— “ c. 1475 Horses are fed on *pease* ; also on *Kichiris*, boiled with sugar and oil etc. ” — *Abdurrazak* in India in 15th Century, p. 10 — Does “ *pease* ” here mean *chick-peas* or चणक ?

³ Edited by Umeśa Chandra Gupta in *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1886, pages 335. A Glossary of *Indian Drugs* mentioned by Jayadatta, together with their *Bengali*, *Hindi* and *Latin* synonyms, is given by the Editor at the end of this edition. In this glossary अहिफेन or *opium* is mentioned on p. 3.

⁴ Edited by Umeśa Chandra Gupta, *Bib. Indica*, 1887 pages 63.

⁵ हेमचन्द्र (A. D. 1088-1172) in his lexicon अमियानचिन्तामणि (भूमिकाण्ड, 236) mentions यव as the favourite of horses :— “ यवो हयप्रियः ” (Comm. “ हयानां प्रियः हयप्रियः ”). He refers to चणकः in verse 237 as “ चणको हरिमन्थकः ” and explains “ चणति क्लृप्तमानः चणकः ” and “ हरिभिः मथ्यते हरिमन्थकः ” *Amarakośa* mentions तारसीक horses and हरिमन्थक (= चणक).

“ वाजिनां भोजनार्थं यवादीनां एवं मात्राः एकदिने यवस्य आढक-
चतुष्टयं । चणकमाषव्रीह्यादीनां आढकद्वयं मात्रा । मृद्वस्य च प्रस्थत्रयं । यत्र
यत्र भोजने स्नेहव्यवस्था सर्वत्रैव स्नेहस्य कुडवत्रयं लवणस्य कुडवो देयः । ”

Then the editor quotes the following verse from अग्निपुराण :—

“ चणकव्रीहिमौद्गानि कलायं वापि दापयेत् ।

अहोरात्रेण चार्द्धस्य यवसस्य तुला दश ॥

अष्टौ शुष्कस्य दातव्याश्चतस्रोऽथ ब्रुषस्य वा । ”

इति अग्निपुराणम् । एवं माषभोजनेऽपि माषस्य ३ प्रस्थाः । तैलस्य ३ कुडवाः ।
लवणस्य च कुडवः ॥ ”

Chapter 13 deals with the treatment of horses in different seasons (सर्व-ऋतु-उपचार). Special attention is given to the food¹ of the horses in these seasons. Among articles of food for the autumn (शरत्) we find मांसयुष (meat-broth) and for the winter (हेमन्त) some wine (वारुणी) also. Wine (मदिरा) is also prescribed for the spring (वसन्त). In chapter 22 dealing with treatment of horses for removing fatigue (भ्रान्तोपचार) मांस रस or flesh juice is prescribed along with यव (barley). In chapter 40 dealing with the treatment of horses in fever (ज्वरविवरण) मांसरस-ओदन or rice boiled with flesh juice is prescribed. Chapter 66 (रसोनकल्प) prescribes the several uses of garlic in 22 verses. Garlic is said to be specially beneficial to old horses (वृद्धेषु च विशेषेण रसोनञ्च प्रदापयेत्). References to चणक as food for horses in the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुल are as follows :—

Page 39—chapter 11 (ऋतुचर्या) prescribes the use of gram (चणक) in the absence of यव in the following verse :—

“ यवोत्थं यवसं दद्यादेकविंशत्यहानि च ।

यवाऽभावेऽथ चणकान् दद्यादावर्तरान् सदा ॥ १० ॥ ”

नकुल praises why much the use of यव for feeding the horses as follows :—

“ देवतानां यथा विष्णुब्रह्मा वेदविदां वरः ।

नदीनाञ्च यथा गङ्गा तथा भ्रेष्टा यवा हये ॥ १४ ॥ ”

¹ Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* (A. D. 1590) (Blochmann) Vol. I (1873)—*Ain* 49 on Imperial Horse Stables—The regimen includes peas, grain, flour, sugar, fresh grass, ghee, hay, molasses, salt, Brown sugar, green oats for regular horses—Regimen for foals includes milk of Cows.

यव had been the sustainer of the Aryans from Vedic times and consequently नकुल lavishes so much praise on it. The Vedic Aryans' may have used यव for their horses. नकुल and जयदत्त prescribe यव as food for horses. यवस is prescribed by नकुल for horses. Keith in his *Vedic Index* (Vol. II, p. 117) states that "यवस in the R̥gveda and later denotes the 'grass' on which animals feed and which is burnt by the forest fire."

Page 42— नकुल continues his praise of यव in the following lines :—

“ परीक्षाग्नौ यथा हेमः स्नेहस्य च प्रतिक्रिया ।

हयजीवस्य तद्वच्च परीक्षा यवभक्षणे । ३२॥

यथा सायांत्रिकः पारं गत्वोच्चैः स्वस्थतां व्रजेत् ।

तद्वत् यवाशनोत्तीर्णाः शुद्धदेहा हयोत्तमाः ॥ ३३ ॥

Page 43— When नकुल wrote his treatise चणक had attained quite an important status in the regimen of the horses. In fact it was considered as the *second best* grain for horses (next to यव) as will be seen from the following verse:—

“ यवाऽभावेऽथ चणका धान्यमन्यतमं परम् । ”

“ एते पुष्टिगुणाः प्रोक्ताश्चणकाहारजा ह्ये । ”

In the detailed regimen of horses Kautilya mentions numerous items except चणक. I am, therefore, inclined to suggest that चणक was not used as food for horses in Kautilya's time. The question now arises as regards the exact time when चणक came to be used as food for horses or “ बाजिभक्ष ”. It appears that when नकुल wrote his treatise the use of चणक was getting into vogue as food for horses. We must now find references to चणक as food for horses in sources earlier than the time of जयदत्त and नकुल, the authors of

1 In the *Vedic Index* (Vol I —“ अन्न, ” Keith and Macdonell do not refer to the use of यव for horses. In the *Arthasāstra* Kautilya refers to यव in the regimen for horses in his chapter on अन्नाध्यक्ष (Book II, chap. 30) p. 147 of Eng. Trans. by Shamsastry, 1929.

“ For the best horse (the diet shall be) two *droṇas* of any one of the grains, rice (शालि, व्रीहि), barley (यव), panic seeds (मियङ्कु) soaked or cooked, *mudga* (*Phaseolus Mango*), or *Māṣa* (*Phaseolus Radiatus* ; one *prastha* of oil, 5 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, one *āḍhaka* of broth (*rasa*), or two *āḍhakas* of curd, 5 *palas* of sugar (*Kṣāra*), to make their diet relishing one *prastha* of *surā* liquor or two *prasthas* of milk. ”

There is no reference to चणक in the *Word-Index* to the *Arthasāstra*.

अश्ववैद्यक and अश्वचिकित्सित respectively. But what is the time of जयदत्त and नकुल ? In connection with this question the following data may be recorded :—

(1) In the Vedic times "Horses from the Indus were of special value, as also horses from Sarasvatī (see p. 43 of *Vedic Index* (Keith and Macdonell))

(2) The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (p. 148 of Eng. Trans., 1929) mentions the following varieties of horses :—

(i) *Kāmbōja*, (ii) *Sindhu*, (iii) *Araṭṭa* and (iv) *Vanāyu*—These are the *best* breeds and (v) *Bāhlika*, (vi) *Pāpeya*, (vii) *Sauvīra* and (viii) *Taitula* are breeds of *middle* quality.

(3) जयदत्त in chap. VI of his अश्ववैद्यक mentions the following kinds of horses :—

Best kinds :— (1) ताजिक (Arabian horses)

(2) पारसिक (Persian)

(3) केकाण or कोङ्कण

(Other kinds are (4) तुरो जाताः or तुरुकाः, (5) कीराः, (6) धुरुष्टाः, (7) भाण्डजाः, (8) पार्वताः, (9) सैन्धवाः, (10) सारस्वताः, (11) सम्भलाः, (12) कुशाः, (13) जटदेशोद्भवाः, (14) प्राग्दक्षिणोद्भवाः, (15) पङ्गदेशोद्भवाः, (16) दक्षिणात्याः, (17) पूर्वदेशसमुद्भवाः etc.

(4) नकुल in chap. II of his अश्वचिकित्सित mentions the following kinds of horses :—

Best kinds :— (1) ताजिकाः (Arabian)

(2) खुरशाणाः (Khorasān)

(3) उत्तराः (variant तुषाराः)

Other kinds :— (4) गोजिकाणाः, (5) केकाणाः, (6) प्रौढाहाराः (variant पोषहाराः), (7) भाण्डजाः, (8) राजगूलाः, (9) गोह्वराः, (10) शावराः, (11) सिन्धुपाराः.

The above list of numerous kinds of horses known to Indians in the time of जयदत्त and नकुल contains a eulogy of ताजिक (Arabian), पारसिक (Persian) and some other foreign breeds of horses like तुरुक (Turkish) and खुरशाण (Khorasān) varieties. This popularity of *Persian Turkish*, *Khorasan*, *Arabian* and other foreign breeds clearly shows that the importation of foreign horses into India was an established feature of foreign commerce with India at the time when जयदत्त and नकुल composed their treatises on horses.

(5) *Morco Polo* in his *Travels*¹ (A. D. 1298) records some references to horses of different countries as follows :—

*Page 28—Horses in Turkomania.*² *Morco Polo* observes :—

“ There is here an excellent breed of horses which has the appellation of *Turki* and fine mules which are sold at high prices.” The *Turki* breed of horses is esteemed throughout the East for spirit and hardiness. (Compare *तुरुष्क* horses mentioned by *जयदत्त*).

Page 50—Horses in Persia

“ The country is distinguished for its excellent breed of horses many of which are carried for sale to India and bring high prices not less in general than two hundred livres *tournois*.³

“ The traders of these parts convey the horses to Kisi to Ormus, and to other places on the coast of the Indian sea, where they are purchased by those who carry them to India. In consequence, however, of the greater heat of that country, they do not last many years, being natives of a temperate climate. ”

Page 134—Horses of Tartars fed on grass alone.

The Tartars “ are capable of supporting every kind of privation, and when there is a necessity for it can live for a month on the milk of their mares and upon such wild animals as they may chance to catch. Their horses are fed upon grass alone and do not require barley or other grain. (contrast the Indian regimen for horses consisting of *यव*, *चणक* and *मांसदूष* mentioned in the *अश्ववैद्यक* and *अश्वचिकित्सित* of *जयदत्त* and *नकुल* and the rich diet for horses given by the *Arthaśāstra* in its chapter on *अश्वाध्यक्ष*).

¹ Ed. by Thomas Wright, London, 1901.

² “Turkomania” then comprised the possessions of the great Seljuk dynasty in Asia Minor, says the Editor, Mr. Wright.

³ Wright observes :— The excellence of the *Persian horses*, for which they may perhaps be indebted to the mixture of the *Arabian and Turki* breed, is well known. A detailed account of their qualities is given by Chardin (tom ii, chap. viii, p. 25, 4 to) ; and also by Malcolm (*Hist. of Persia* Vol. ii, p. 516). As the *livre tournois*, in the 14th cent. was at the proportionate value of 25 to 1 livre of the present times, it follows that, the price at which the *Persian horses* sold in India was from 1500 to 2000 rupees. ”

Cf. Vincent Smith (*History of India*, Oxford, 1914, p. 426)—King Pulakaśin II of the Deccan sent an embassy to Khusru II of Persia in A. D. 625. Khusru sent a return embassy to Pulakaśin. A picture of this return embassy is found on an Ajanta fresco painting in Cave No. 1.

"The men are habituated to remain on horse-back during two days and two nights, without dismounting, sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze."

Page 262—*Horses bred in Karaian*¹

—"The best horses are bred in this province", (Wright observes:—"This is probably the same breed as the *tangun* or *tanyan* horses of lower Tibet, carried from thence for sale to Hindustan. The people of Būtan informed Major Rennell that they brought their *tanyans* thirty-five days journey to the frontier" (cf. जयदत्त mentions टङ्गुण breed:—"वर्तुलश्चापि हस्वश्च टङ्गुणः परिकीर्तितः")

Page 266—*Horses bred in Karazan*

"In this province the horses are of a large size and whilst young are carried for Sale to India. It is the practice to deprive them of one joint of the tail, in order to prevent them from lashing it from side to side, and to occasion its remaining pendant, as the whisking it about, in riding, appears to them a vile habit".²

Page 386—*No horses are bred in Muabar but they are imported from Arabia*

—"No horses being bred in this country the king and his three royal brothers expend large sums of money annually in the purchase of them from merchants of Ormus, Diufar, Pecher and Adem etc."

—"The climate of the province is unfavourable³ to the race of horses."

¹ Wright states that *Karaian* is generally understood to be north-western part of *yun-nan*. Dr. F. Buchanan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iv, p. 228) writes this word as *Karayn*. He also speaks of *Ka-Kiayn* a wild people on the frontiers of China. जयदत्त mentions a breed of horses of the name केकाण (variants कोङ्काण, केकन, केकण,). नकुल also mentions the केकाण breed. Has केकाण or its phonetic variants any connection with *Ka-Kiayn* people on the frontiers of China, mentioned by Buchanan?

² Wright states that *Karazan* is another province of *Yun-nan*—It appears that the practice of docking the tails of horses by separating one or more of the vertebrae, which has become so common in England existed many hundred years ago amongst the people of *Yun-nan*, in the remotest part of China—Chinese pronunciation of *Karazan* would be *Ka-la-Shan*.

³ Wright observes:—"Even at the present day there is no breed of horses in the Southern part of the peninsula, and all the cavalry employed

—“ For food they give them flesh dressed with rice, and other prepared meats, the country not producing any grain besides rice. ”

Page 420—*Horses exported to India from Kanan or Tana.*

—“ They likewise take on board a number to horses fo be carried for sale to different parts of India.”¹

Page 439—*Horses from Aden exported to India,*

“ In this port of Aden, likewise, the merchants ship a greater number of *Arabian horses*, which they carry for *sale* to all the *kingdoms and islands of India*, obtaining high prices for them and making large profits ” (cf. the statement of जयदत्त and नकुल that तान्जिक or *Arabian horse* belongs to the best class of horses.)

Page 443—*Horses exported to India from Kalayati² or Kalatu to India.*

“ Its harbour is good, and many trading ships arrive there from India These likewise carry away freights of *horses*, which they sell advantageously in India. ”

It is clear from the foregoing references of A. D. 1298 about the importation of *Persian, Arabian, Turkish* and other breeds of horses to India that these horses enjoyed a wide popularity in Indian kingdoms and that this Indo-foreign trade in horses was already an established feature of the commercial relations of India with other countries. It is on this account that we find a definite mention of पारसिक, तुर्क and तान्जिक horses in the treatises on horses by जयदत्त and नकुल.

(continued from the previous page)

there are foreign.” जयदत्त also considers the horses bred in the *Eastern* and *Southern* country as अधम or of low quality :—

“ अधमाष्टङ्गणैः सार्द्धं द्वये प्राग्दक्षिणोद्भवाः ॥ ”

“ दक्षिणान्यो भवेद्गुणो योऽधन्यः सर्ववाजिनाम् ॥ १७ ॥

जवहीना महादृष्टाः पूर्वदेशसमुद्भवाः । ”

¹ Wright observes :— “ Horses were carried from the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and places in their vicinity to the northern parts of India, from whence their breed was exported to the southern provinces. Such at least appears to have been the course of the traffic before it was disturbed by European influence. ”

² *Kalayati* is *Kalhāt*, on the Coast of Oman, not far to the southward of Muscat.

(6) The Western Cālukya King सोमेश्वर composed his encyclopaedic Sanskrit work मानसोल्लास¹ about A. D. 1130 i. e. about 168 years earlier than Marco Polo's *Travels*. In this work there is a chapter on वाजिवाह्याली विनोद or the game on Indian Polo.² The king should understand the kinds of the best horses for this game brought before him by his officers (तेषां जातीः परिक्षित देशनाम-विभेदतः) Someśvara then names the following classes of horses

Best Horses—(1) काम्बोज, (2) यवन, (3) तेजी, (4) बाल्हीक, (5) आतल (6) ताखवारक, (7) केंकाण, (8) पोहार, (9) कान्दलेप, (10) यौधेय, (11) वाज-पेयक, (12) वनायुज, (13) पारसीक.

Middle Breeds—(14) तैत्तिल, (15) वत्स, (16) कान्धार, (17) वामतेय, (18) सेन्धव, (19) सावित्र, (20) पार्वतेय, (21) काश्मीर, (22) साम्प्रतीयक, (23) तेजी, (24) कुलज, (25) नीहार, (26) सारस्वत, (27) तुरुष्क.

Inferior Breeds—(28) मेदक, (29) आर्जुनेय, (30) जैर्गत, (31) गुर्जर, (32) राजस, (33) आवन्त्य, (34) सौराष्ट्र, (35) पारियात्र, (36) सहारक, (37) दुग्धवाट, (38) स्तब्धवाट etc.

It will be seen from the above list that many foreign breeds of horses such as पारसीक, तुरुष्क, तोखवारक, केंकाण, बाल्हीक, तेजी etc. were considered best horses about A. D. 1130, when Someśvara ruled in the Deccan. The question of the identification of all these breeds of horses mentioned by सोमेश्वर, as also those mentioned in other works will have to be considered separately as such identification has a direct bearing on the history of foreign commerce with India.

In the वाजिवाह्याली (Indian Polo) chapter referred to above there is no occasion for सोमेश्वर to mention the food for the horses. Accordingly there is no mention of चणक or gram in it.³

¹ Ed. by G. K. Shrigondekar, G. O. S. Baroda, Vol. II, 1939.

² Ibid, pp. 211-224—वाजिवाह्याली विनोद—It is worth while comparing the horse-lore in this chapter with that in the horse-treatises of जयद्वज and नकुल. See also Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar's paper on "Indian Polo" in the Proceedings of the Indian Ori. Conference, Allahabad of 1926.

³ I note here some references to चणक and its uses found in the मानसोल्लास Vol. II (Baroda) 1939 :-

P. 10 — चणकोदन (rice boiled with gram) used for वास्तूपशमन.

P. 115—Chapter on अन्नभोग—चणक to be used in cookery after grinding it in a घरट्ट —हरिमन्य (= चणक) pulse fried with spices (p. 119),

P. 261—Chapter on महिष विनोद—चणक pulse to be given to the buffaloes used for fight.

(7) The lexicon *Amarakośa* mentions सैन्धव as the name of a horse (see क्षत्रियवर्ग of Kāṇḍa II of *Amarakośa*, ed. by N. G. Sardesai and H. D. Sharma). It mentions also four breeds of horses as follows—

P. 185—“४६—वनायुजाः पारसीकाः काम्बोजा बाल्हिका हयाः” The commentator क्षीरस्वामिन् explains :—“एते जाताः हयविशेषाः । एवं तुक्खारादयोऽपि”

The *Amarakośa* (Between A. D. 500 and 800) refers to the पारसीक or Persian horses. This reference is important as it is one of the earliest references to पारसीक horses we have so far recorded. क्षीरस्वामिन् adds the तुक्खार breed to the four breeds mentioned by *Amara*. The date of क्षीरस्वामिन् is about A. D. 1050.

(8) The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (C. A. 500) contains a small section on अश्वलक्षण (chap. 66 in 5 verses) but it mentions no breeds of horses in it though it mentions चणक.

(9) Narahari in his medical glossary called राजानिघण्टु of C. A. D. 1450 refers to the following breeds¹ of horses :—

(1) आरट्ट, (2) सिन्धुज, (3) वनायुज, (4) पारसीक, (5) काम्बोज, (6) बाल्हिक, (7) साम्राण, (8) शेफक.

(10) During the Polonnaruva period of the history of Ceylon (A. D. 1017-1235) horses, chariots and elephants were used at times in warfare but an army of which they formed part was rather the exception than the rule because there were no convenient routes to follow in a thickly wooded country like Ceylon. The soldiers as a rule travelled on foot and the generals were carried in palanquins with parasols held over them as a sign of their authority.² Ceylon's trade with the West began

(continued from the previous page)

P. 273—Chapter on मत्स्य विनोद (Angling) — Balls of चणक चिट्ट or gram flour with boiled rice to be used for feeding fishes.

Pages 183-286—Boar-hunt (ब्राह्म मृगया) is described. Boars are very fond of चणक (सुकराः चणकोत्सवाः) — several uses of चणक for tempting the boars before the king hunted them are described.

The foregoing references clearly prove that in A. D. 1130 the use of चणक or gram for feeding buffaloes and boars was an established practice.

¹ Vide p. 35 of अष्टांगहृदयकोष by K. M. Vaidya, Trichur, 1936—राजनिघण्टु is quoted here as follows :—

“आरट्टसिन्धुजवनायुजपारसीक—

काम्बोजबाल्हिकमुक्खा विविधास्तुरंगाः ।

साम्राणशेफकमुक्ता अपि देशतः स्युः”

² Vide p. 91 of *Early History of Ceylon*, by G. C. Mendis, 1938.

very early. It is not certain whether the Arabs had dealings with Ceylon before the Christian Era. From the 2nd century A. D. to the early part of the 3rd century Greek traders came to Ceylon. There was a revival of trade after Constantine (A. D. 323-337) who made Byzantium the capital of the Roman Empire. Persians, who were Christians of the Nestorian sect also traded with the South-west of India and Ceylon but their trade ceased in the 7th century when Persia was captured by the Muslims. The conquest of Alexandria by the Caliphs in A. D. 638 stopped Ceylon's direct trade with Byzantine Empire. Before the end of the 10th century the Arabs established a trading settlement in Colombo.¹ In view of these circumstances it is doubtful if any foreign breeds of horses were imported to Ceylon as they were imported to India from Persia and Arabia say from A. D. 800 onwards.

(11) We have already seen that जयदत्त and नकुल have stated that the breeds of horses from the दक्षिणाव्य and पूर्व (Southern and Eastern) countries or provinces were of the most inferior quality (अधम). During the rule of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal (A. D. 750-1200) cavalry was not neglected because they had to fight with Pratihāras who were strong in cavalry. Bengal had no good breed of horses. Horses were imported from foreign countries. It is said in the Mongyr plate of Devapāla (A. D. (810-850) that the horses met their old mares in the Kāmboja country. Kāmboja was reputed for the finest breed in ancient times.²

(13) Dr. B. C. Law in his learned article³ on " Animals in Early Jain and Buddhist Literature " recently published records the following interesting information⁴ about horses gathered from the *Jātakas* :-

¹ Ibid, pp. 73-74.

² Vide p. 143 of *Early History of Bengal*, by P. L. Paul, Calcutta, 1939.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. XII (July-Sept. 1945), pp. 6-7.

⁴ Dr. A. D. Pusalker has drawn my attention to the following references to Horses in Dr. B. C. Law's *Tribes in Ancient India* (B. O. R. Institute, 1944) :—" Horse-dealers figure prominently amongst the *Gandhāra* trades and we learn from the शतपथ that the *Gandhāran* horses were considered the best of all (ch. 99) (Page 17)— "Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to *Benares* for sale (*Jātaka II* p. 287). *Sindh* horses were available in *Benares* and were used as the royal horses of ceremony (*Jātaka II* p. 338) Law, p. 112.

" *Horses*—*Sindh* horses are milk-white and thorough-bred. (*Jātaka* Nos. 22, 23, 160, 211, 529, 547, 538). They are white as lilies, swift as the wind and well trained (*Ibid*, Nos. 544, 266, 547). Horses like to eat *pears* (*Ibid*, 176). Thorough-bred horses are fed on *parched rice drippings broken meats and grass and red rice-powder* (*Ibid* No. 254). There are big chest-nut horses (*Suṇṇu Jātaka* No. 158). Horses are fierce (*Ibid* No. 115). When they become rogue they bite quiet horses, but when two rogues meet they lick each other's body (*Ibid* No. 158). The horse can also imitate men. A horse watching its tame trainer as he trampled on and on in front imitated him and limped too (*Giridanta Jātaka* No. 184.) A thorough-bred war-horse will not bathe in the same place where an ordinary horse took its bath (*Ibid* No. 25). Horses were employed for drawing state-chariots (*Ibid* No. 22) and cars (*Ibid* No. 211). Thorough-bred *Sindh* horses sheathed in mail were used for war purposes (*Ibid*, No. 23; cf. *Ibid*, No. 547). The *Valāha* and *Sindhū* are the horses of superior breed (*Barhut*, III, Pl. XXVI, fig. 136).

There was a trade in horses (*Jātaka* Nos. 4 and 5). There were *valuers* employed by kings to fix the proper price of horses, elephants and the like (*Ibid*, No. 5). Good horses used to fetch high prices. A high-bred foal was sold at Benares at a high price, separate price, was paid for the foal's four feet, for its tail, for its head—six purses of a thousand pieces of money, one for each (*Ibid*, No. 254). This horse could run at such a high speed that nobody could see it at all. It could run over a pond without getting its hoofs wet, and gallop over lotus leaves without even pushing one of them under water (*Ibid*, No. 254)—There was a flying horse, white all over and beaked like a crow, with hair like *muñja* grass, possessed of supernatural power, able to fly through the air. From Himālaya it flew through the air until it came to Ceylon. It carried 250 men at a time (*Valāhassa Jātaka* No. 196)".

There is no reference to चणक or gram as food for horses in the above account of ancient Indian horses, though it refers to

rice, meat¹ and grass as food for horses. The breeds of horses mentioned in this account are *Valūha* and *Sindhu* only. The reference to *trade in horses* is in harmony with the references to such trade recorded by me already in this paper.

(13) In view of the Indo-foreign horse-trade referred to in the Indian and Foreign sources of history the following remarks of Geoffrey Brooke in his book, "*The Way of a Man with a Horse*" (London, 1929) on the history of the Horse and Horsemanship will be read with peculiar interest :—

Chapter I — The Horse.

"Throughout the past ages to the present day we find the horse's many qualities appreciated and turned to the use of man. His courage and endurance have repeatedly been recognized as dominant factors in war and his original use for this purpose dates back to pre-historic times. Archaeological evidence proves this to have been the case in *India, Persia, Assyria, and Egypt*, where the horse was bred and trained as a means of conveyance. In 2737 B. C. the Chinese² are known to have made use of cavalry.

¹ Geoffrey Brooke in his book "*The Way of a Man with a horse*" (London, 1929) has dealt with the question of *feeding of sick horses*. He prescribes *eggs, milk, bread, biscuits, beer and wine* for supplying nourishment in a concentrated form. *Beer, Stout and Wines* are to be given chiefly to stimulate appetite. A quart of *Beer or Stout* and $\frac{1}{2}$ bottle of wine are to be usually given (P, 101) "A horse that does not appear to be thriving may be given a wine-glass-ful of *Cod-liver oil* in thrice the amount in treacle mixed in his feed once a day."

² Vide "*Ceremonial Usages of the Chinese*, B. C. 1121, Translated by W. R. Gingell, London, 1852—This Chinese classic (3000 years old) refers to royal chariots and banners (pp. 18-26). It describes how men of the Chow Dynasty (1121 B. C.) paid particular regard to carriages, and then records in detail the principles of carriage building. It refers to *military carriages, small carriages* with one pole and a pair of horses on each side of the pole and *large carriages* with two shafts and an ox between them. The small carriages were used for *hunting and war* purposes. There were also "*plain carriages*" used as vehicles, drawn by ox or horse—This book then lays down the "*regulations by which the people bred horses.*" Horses were of six kinds :—(1) *thorough-bred*, (2) *charger*, (3) *horse of colour*, (4) *roadster*, (5) *hunter*, and (6) *common-bred*. There were officers to look after the Castration of horses, and officers to supervise the harnessing and unharnessing. There were other officers to manage the vicious horses.—These observations are evidently about 1000 years older than those in Kautilya's chapter on अश्ववृक्ष in the अर्थशास्त्र and about 2000 years earlier than those in the treatises of जयदत्त and नकुल.

Amongst other places in the *Bible* we find in the *Book of Kings*, reference made to Solomon's captains, rulers of his chariots and his horsemen. The cavalry of *Alexandar the Great*¹ was famous in their days throughout his many campaigns. We know too that the ancient Greeks were highly skilled horsemen and devoted much of their time in equitation. There is both sound advice and practical knowledge to be derived from *Xenophon's treatise on horsemanship*. It is interesting to note that *Herodotus* in his book *Thalia* refers to *Darius* sustaining an accident when hunting on horse-back. We know of course that the *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians* and *Romans* employed horses in chariots in addition to normal cavalry of those times.

Throughout past centuries to this day the *Arabs* have been recognized as a *nation of horsemen* and it is to these people and their particular breed of horse that we owe the wonderful *Thorough bred of modern times*. Among the early *British* at the time of the Roman conquest the *Iceni*² held a justly high reputation for the excellence of their horses and their horsemanship.

In mediaeval³ times good horsemanship was highly esteemed as witness the *English Knights* who won their spurs by gallantry on the field of battle. "

The foregoing data gives us a glimpse into the history of Indian interest in horses and the consequent importation of foreign horses into India from very early times. We have seen already that the *Amarakośa* refers to the *Pārasika* or Persian horses. We know also that Pulakeśin II of the Deccan sent an embassy to Persia in A. D. 625. Are we to suppose that the

¹ Alexander's favourite charger *Bucephalus* died at *Jhelum* city of the Hydaspes in N. India after carrying him in all his campaigns. Alexander built at this place a city in memory of his charger after his battle with Porus. (Vide p. 110 of Smith's *Smaller Classical Dictionary*. Everyman's Library, London, 1913.)

² *Iceni* -- a powerful people in Britain dwelling in the modern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. Their revolt from the Romans under their heroic queen Boadicea is celebrated in history (*Ibid*, p. 277).

³ Mongol horseman under Jenghiz Khān (died 1227 A. D.) were celebrated for their conquests -- " A Mongol on a single pony will ride from Urga to Kalgan - by the shortest route 600 miles " (Vide p. 133 of *Unknown Mongolia* by Carruthers, Vol. II). See article on *Mongol Army* in *JRAS*, 1943, p. 51.

Persian horses¹ began to be imported to India after A. D. 600 ? According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* the demand for Persian and Arabian horses arose from the scare created by Mussalman cavalry. If this statement is true to history the horse-trade from Persia and Arabia must have been started some time after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in A. D. 712. The Arabs had made several raids on the coasts of Western India ; one of these in A. D. 637 from Bahrein and Oman in the Persian Gulf plundered the Konkon coast near Thana (see Elliot and Dowson's *History*, I, pp. 415-416). In view of the above history of the trade in Persian and Arabian horses I am inclined to think that the treatises on horses by जयदत्त and नकुल viz. the अश्ववैद्यक and अश्व-चिकित्सित are later than C. A. D. 800 as they refer to the पारसीक (Persian) and तार्जिक (Arabian) horses among the best breeds of horses. These treatises were probably composed before A. D. 1300 as they show in a remarkable degree the necessity felt by

¹ According to *Bombay Gazetteer* [Vol. XII (Thana) Part II, p. 403] The Thana coast has taken a leading part in foreign commerce of Western India in the following periods of history :—

- (i) B. C. 2500 — B. C. 500 — There are signs of trade with *Egypt* *Phoenicia* and *Babylon*.
- (ii) B. C. 250 — A. D. 250 — There are dealings with, perhaps settlements of, *Greeks* and *Romans*.
- (iii) A. D. 250 — 640 — There are Persian alliances and Persian settlements.
- (iv) A. D. 700 — 1200 — There are Mussalman trade relations and Mussalman settlements from Arabia and Persia.

During the reign of the great Noshervan (A. D. 531-578), the relations between Western India and Persia were extremely close. In the several lists of the articles of trade imported to India from outside before the period of the rule of the Śīlāhūras (A. D. 810-1260) I don't find any references to the import of horses. The *Gazetteer* observes (p. 431) :—

"The chief trade in *Animals* was towards the close of the period (1290), a great import of horses from the Persian Gulf and from Arabia. No ships came to Thana without horses and the Thana chief was so anxious to secure them that he agreed not to trouble the pirates so long as they let him have the horses as his share of the plunder. This great demand for horses seems to have risen from the scare among the Hindu rulers of the Deccan caused by the Mussalman cavalry. As many as 10,000 horses a year are said to have been imported." Speaking of Mussalman trade (p. 444) the *Gazetteer* observes :— "The constant demand for horses kept up a close connection between the Thana and East Arabian ports and there was a considerable trade with the Zangibar coast."

the Hindu Kings¹ of the period 800-1300 A. D. of providing such manuals for the care of their cavalry with a view to combating the Mussalman trained cavalry like that used by Shiāb-ud-din against Prithivīrāja of Ajmer in A. D. 1191.

If चणक or gram came to be used as food for horses in India say between A. D. 800 and 1300, the period during which the above mentioned treatises on horses were composed we must investigate whether the use of चणक as food for horses has travelled to India along with the Persian and Arabian horses or otherwise. In connection with this problem it is necessary to locate references to चणक as food for horses in *Persian*, *Arabic* and *Turkish* sources prior to A. D. 800 but I must leave this task to scholars conversant with these sources. I have tried in this paper to record the history of चणक or gram as food for horses *between C. A. D. 800 and 1870*. I propose to deal with the question of the antiquity of चणक on the strength of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources on a subsequent occasion and the present paper is only an off-shoot of the main study pertaining to the history of this important grain on which horses have been fed for more than 1000 years in India.

¹ जयदत्त is called "महासामन्त" in the colophons of the different chapters of his अश्ववैद्यक.

Some Interesting Problems in
MAHĀBHĀRATA TEXT TRANSMISSION

BY

S. K. BELVALKAR

Problem No. 3*

When Duryodhana and Arjuna came simultaneously to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā to ask for his assistance in the forth-coming war, Kṛṣṇa, wishing to satisfy them both, proposed (Udyoga 7. 17):

ते वा युधि दुरोधर्षा भवन्वेकस्य सैनिकाः ।

अयुध्यमानः संग्रामे न्यस्तशस्त्रोऽहमेकतः ॥

Arjuna accepted Kṛṣṇa, alone and weaponless, and Duryodhana the ten thousand warriors of Kṛṣṇa known as the *Nārūyaṇas*. Kṛṣṇa eventually consented to become Arjuna's charioteer, and as such could only give advice, but not himself take any part in fighting. In the Bhīṣmaparvan, chapter 55 (= GK 59), we are told that Kṛṣṇa was *not* able to remain true to his word. On the third day of the battle, after a weak opening, Bhīṣma the Generalissimo of the Kauravas acquitted himself so valorously that Arjuna and the Pāṇḍavas were not able to offer him any resistance, and the ranks fled away from the field disregarding Sātyaki's efforts to stem the rout. This angers Kṛṣṇa to such an extent that he leaps down from the chariot and, with the discus named *Sudarśana* in hand (55. 89-92), rushes upon Bhīṣma with intent to kill him. Arjuna, however, runs after Kṛṣṇa and stops him at the tenth step (*daśame pade* : 55. 98), and persuades him to return, promising to fight Bhīṣma more manfully, a promise which Arjuna amply fulfils during the rest of that day and on the day following.

* Problem No. 1 appeared in the *Annals*, BORI, Vol. XXV, pp. 82-87, and No. 2 in *Ibid.* pp. 239-243. — The Mbh. references in this essay are all to the Critical Edition unless otherwise specified.

Duryodhana had all along suspected Bhīṣma (and Droṇa) of partiality for the Pāṇḍavas. Earlier on the third day of the battle, Duryodhana had said (5. 54. 35ff.) :

अनुग्राह्याः पाण्डुसुता नूनं तव पितामह ।
यथेमां क्षमसे वीर वध्यमानां वरूथिनीम् ॥

.....
यदि नाहं परित्याज्यो युवाभ्यामिह संयुगे ।
विक्रमेणानुरूपेण युध्येतां पुरुषर्षभौ ॥

Bhīṣma in reply said that the Pāṇḍavas were really invincible in battle. He would, nevertheless, do his best (6. 54. 41) :

यत्तु शक्यं मया कर्तुं वृद्धेनाथ नृपोत्तम ।
करिष्यामि यथाशक्ति प्रेक्षेदानीं सवान्धवः ॥

It was after this that Bhīṣma displayed his prowess which compelled Kṛṣṇa to break his vow. When therefore, at the end of the day and also on the following day, the Pāṇḍava side is again triumphant, poor Duryodhana, himself wounded in the battle and having lost eight of his own brothers (6. 60. 24-33), renews his complaint to Bhīṣma (6. 61. 26ff.), who narrates to him what is known as the " Viśvopākhyāna " (chapters 61-64), which contains a legend about Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna being the Avatāras respectively of Nārāyaṇa the Supreme Being, and of Nara the Great Sage.¹ The narration of this legend, of course, does not materially affect the war, which resumes its wonted course the morning following.

On the ninth day of the battle we have, in all the recensions and testimonia without exception, a repetition of the whole series of events including, even Duryodhana's reproof and Bhīṣma's assurance, and culminating in Kṛṣṇa's leaping down from the chariot and rushing towards Bhīṣma, and of his returning to the charioteer's seat upon the importunities of Arjuna, who stops him, again, *daśame pade* (6. 102. 64). This time, however, Arjuna's promise to mend and fight better does not produce results, and

¹ This *Upākhyāna* refers to the doctrine of the *Four Vyūhas*, which is a sectarian dogma not known to the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is found in portions of the Epic generally considered relatively late.

Bhīṣma still remains the master of the field, so much so that Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas repair that night to Bhīṣma's camp and ask his advice as to what they should do to win the battle.

Now when a battle is raging on for a number of days, there are naturally bound to be repetitions of incidents; but this incident of Kṛṣṇa's rushing upon Bhīṣma is not an ordinary incident, and it loses all its *raison d'être* by being repeated. Furthermore, if, stung by Duryodhana's reproof, Bhīṣma is to prove his mettle, he is ordinarily expected to keep up that spirit, as he in fact does on the ninth day, and not allow Arjuna to get the better of him once more, as happens on the third day. It is also somewhat odd that, on that third day, Arjuna should have been overcome by just a brief spell of lethargy, which is preceded as well as followed by continuous periods of very vigorous fighting.

The principal moments of the repeated incident are: (i) Bhīṣma's superior exploit: third day (55. 3-39), ninth day (102. 1-29); (ii) Arjuna's lethargy (*mṛduguddhalā*): third day (55. 40-79), ninth day (102. 30-51); (iii) Kṛṣṇa's passionate onrush: third day (55. 80-92), ninth day (102. 52-58); (iv) Bhīṣma's response: third day (55. 93-95), ninth day (102. 59-61); and (v) Arjuna's overtaking and persuading Kṛṣṇa to return, and resuming the fight: third day (55. 96-132), ninth day (102. 62-78). On a critical comparison of the corresponding portions of the text from the third and the ninth days of the battle, if we find one of the accounts more detailed and exaggerated and couched mostly in the Triṣṭubh metre in place of the normal epic Anuṣṭubh, that account is likely to be late or secondary. This is so in the case of the description of the last three moments (iii-v) belonging to the third day. In view of this it would be quite safe to conclude that the repetition of the incident of Kṛṣṇa's rushing against Bhīṣma on the third day of the battle is secondary, being an afterthought primarily designed to give occasion for the sectarian *Viśvopākhyāna* being brought into the picture. Such a conclusion would also gain in probability by the added circumstance (which cannot escape being noticed by even a superficial reader) that the descriptions of the first two moments (i-ii) of the incident belonging to the above two days contain a very large number of verbally identical stanzas, lines

and phrases, which makes it impossible to suppose that the texts belonging to the two days in question could have been quite independent compositions.

It is in this substantially identical portion of the text that a very interesting problem relating to Mahābhārata text-transmission confronts us, which I propose to here very briefly indicate. I must say that the problem struck me as a problem only after the work of constituting the text of the two chapters in accordance with the established procedure in the matter had been completed.¹ That the problem would assume the form in which I am going to present it here was the least expected. In order that readers might exactly appreciate the situation, I present in the pages that follow the constituted text of chapter 55 of the Bhīṣmaparvan, stanzas 34-66^{ab} and chapter 102, stanzas 24-52 in opposite columns, the portion common to the two chapters being given once only in the centre, while the variant readings are placed in the two side columns. Stars indicate that the lines are wanting in the description of the day concerned. For facility of reference I have numbered the entire text by lines 1 to 67.

¹ Thus for instance in line 1 यत्मानापि (55. 34^a) was accepted on the evidence of Ks-5 B D (except D₂); while यत्मानाश्च (102. 24^a) on the evidence of Ś1 Ko-2.4 B M1-3.5.

In line 2 °प्रपाडिताः (55. 34^d) was accepted on the evidence of Ś1 Ko-3.5 D₂ G1.3 M; while °प्रपाडितान् (102. 24^d) on the evidence of all MSS. except D1 TG; Ś1 Ko.1 om.

In line 13 देवकिनन्दनः (55. 40^b) was accepted on the evidence of Ś1 K D₂.6; while याद्वनन्दनः (102. 30^b) is given by all MSS. without exception.

In line 30 रश्मिमान् (55. 47^d) was accepted on the evidence of Ś1 Ks TG₂-4 M1-4; while रश्मिवान् (102. 38^d) on the evidence of Ś1 Ko-4 B DaDn D1.3.4 (orig.). 5-8 T₂ G1 M4.

In line 55 तौ भीष्मशरविश्वतौ (55. 60^b) was accepted on the evidence of Ś1 Ko.4 B DaDn D₃-5.7, while भीष्मपाशौ शरश्वतौ (102. 49^b) on the evidence of Ś1 K1.

It will be noted that in all these places there was no other variant as strongly supported as the one accepted; several of the rejected readings were rejected by reason of some slight change or error, but otherwise they also support the accepted text.

Constituted Text of the Repeated Lines

[N. B. Insignificant variants are passed over without comment]

Line	Variant Readings Third Day: 6. 55. 34-66 ^{ab}	Common Readings	Line	Variant Readings Ninth Day: 6. 102. 24-52
1	यतमानपिते वीरा द्रवमाणान्महास्थान् ।	1	यतमानाश्च
2	*प्रपीडिताः	नाशकबुवन्वारयितुं भीष्मबाण..... ।	2	*प्रपीडितान्
3		महेन्द्रसमवीर्येण वध्यमाना महाचमूः ।	3	
4		अभ्युत्त महाराज न च द्वौ सह धावतः ।	4	
5		आविद्धरथनागाश्वं पतितध्वजकूरम् ।	5	
6		अनीकं पाण्डुपुत्राणां हाहाभूतमचेतनम् ।	6	
7		जघानात्र पिता पुत्रं पुत्रश्च पितरं तथा ।	7	
8		प्रियं सखायं चाक्रन्दे सखा दैवबलात्कृतः ।	8	
9		विमुच्य कवचानन्ये पाण्डुपुत्रस्य सैनिकाः ।	9	
10		प्रकीर्यै केशान्धावन्तः प्रत्यदृश्यन्त भारत ।	10	
11		तद्गोकुलमिवोद्भ्रान्तमुद्भ्रान्तरथकुञ्जरम् ।	11	
12		ददृशे पाण्डुपुत्रस्य सैन्यमार्तस्वरं तदा ।	12	
13	(a) तत्सैन्यं (b) देवकि°	प्रभज्यमानं (°)..... दृष्ट्वा (°).....नन्दनः ।	13	(a) सैन्यं तु (b) यादव°
14		उवाच पार्थ बीभत्सुं निगृह्य रथमुत्तमम् ।	14	
15	*स्त्वया	अयं स कालः संप्राप्तः पार्थ यः काङ्क्षित..... ।	15	*स्त्व
16	*द्विमुखासे	प्रहरासौ नरव्याघ्र न चेन्महा..... ।	16	*द्विमुखासे
17	(a) यत्त्वया (b) पुरा	(°)..... कथितं वीर (°)..... राज्ञां समागमे ।	17	(a) यत्पुरा (b) त्वया

Line	Variant Readings Third Day : 6. 55. 34-66 ^{ab}	Common Readings	Line	Variant Readings Ninth Day : 6. 102. 24-52
*	*	विराटनगरे पार्थ संजयस्य समीपतः ।	18	
19	*	भीष्मद्रोणसुबात्सर्वान्धार्तराष्ट्रस्य सैनिकान् ।	19	
20		सायुबन्धान्दृष्ट्वा निष्यामि ये मां योत्स्यन्ति संयुगे ।	20	
21		इति तत्कुरु कौन्तेय सत्यं वाक्यमरिदम ।	21	
		Line		
		22		क्षत्रधर्ममुत्सृत्य शुच्यस्व भरतर्षभ ।
		23		इत्युक्तो वासुदेवेन तिर्यग्दृष्टिरधोमुखः ।
		24		अकाम इव बीभत्सुरिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ।
		25		अवध्यानां वधं कृत्वा राज्यं वा नरकोत्तरम् ।
		26		दुःखानि वनवासे वा किं नु मे सुकृतं भवेत् ।
27	विगाह्यैतद्वह्मार्णवस्य	चोदयाधान्यतो भीष्मः	27	करिष्ये वचनं तव ।
*	*	पातयिष्यामि दुर्योधं वृद्धं कुरपितामहम् ।	28	
29	*	ततोऽश्वात्रजत्प्रत्त्याश्चोदयात्स माधवः ।	29	
30	(a) रथो (b) क्षो रश्मिमानिव	यतो भीष्म ^(a) राजन्दुष्ये ^(b) ।	30	(a) मृतो (b) इयो रश्मिवानिव
31		ततस्तस्युनरावृत्तं युधिष्ठिरबलं महत् ।	31	
32		दृष्ट्वा पार्थं महाबाहुं भीष्मयोग्यन्तमाहवे ।	32	
33		ततो भीष्मः कुरुश्रेष्ठः सिंहवद्विनदन्मुहुः ।	33	
34	तूष्णं	धनंजयरथं शरवर्षैरवाकितम् ।	34	शीघ्रं

Line	Variant Readings Third Day : 6. 55. 34-66 ^{ab}	Common Readings	Line	Variant Readings Ninth Day : 6. 102. 24-52
35	संछन्नो न प्रकाशते	क्षणेन स रथस्तस्य सहयः सहसाराथिः ।	35	
36	सत्त्ववान् ¹	शरवर्षेण महता ।	36	न प्राज्ञायत किंचन
37		वासुदेवस्त्वसंभ्रान्तो धैर्यमास्थाय ।	37	सात्वतः ¹
38		चोदयामास तानश्चान्वितुश्चान्भीष्मसायकैः ।	38	
39		ततः पार्थो धनुर्गृह्य दिव्यं जलदन्तिस्वनम् ।	39	
40	त्रिभिः	पातयामास भीष्मस्य धनुश्छिन्वा शरैः ।	40	शितैः
41		स च्छिन्नयन्वा कौरव्यः पुनरन्यन्महद्धनुः ।	41	
42		निमेषान्तरमात्रेण सज्यं चक्रे पिता तव ।	42	
43		विचक्रयं ततो दोभ्यां धनुर्जलदन्तिस्वनम् ।	43	
44		अथास्य तदपि क्रुद्धश्चिच्छेद धनुर्गुनः ।	44	
45		तस्य तत्पूजयामास लाघवं शंतनोः सुतः ।	45	कुन्तीसुतेति च
46	भो पाण्डुनन्दन	साधु पार्थ महाबाहो साधु ।	46	*
47		त्वय्यैवैतद्युक्तरूपं महत्कर्म धनंजय ।	*	*
48		प्रीतोऽस्मि सुदृढं पुत्रं कुरु युद्धं मया सह ।	*	*
† Line 49				
50	वीरः ²	इति पार्थ प्रशस्याथ प्रगृह्यान्वन्महद्धनुः ।		समाभाव्यैनमपरं प्रगृह्य रुचिरं धनुः ।
		सुमोच समरे शरान्यार्थस्यं प्रति ।	50	भीष्मः ²

1 *Sāvatatāḥ* is a more familiar epithet; *sattatārā* is somewhat unusual.

2 *Vīrah* is less specific than *Bhīmah*.

Line	Variant Readings Third Day : 6, 53, 34-66 ^{ab}	Common Readings	Line	Variant Readings Ninth Day : 6, 102, 24-52
51		अदर्शयद्वासुदेवो हययाने परं बलम् ।	51	मण्डलानि विदर्शयन्
52	मण्डलान्यचरच्छु	मोवाङ्कुर्वन्शरामस्य	52	* *
53		तथापि भीष्मः सुदृढं वासुदेवधनंजयौ ।	53	* *
54		विव्याध निशितैर्बाणैः सर्वगात्रेषु मारिष ।	54	* *
55	तौ भीष्मशरविश्वतौ	शुशुभाते नरव्याघ्रौ	55	भीष्मपार्थौ शरश्वतौ
56	नर्दन्तौ	गोवृषाविव	56	संरक्षौ
57		पुनश्चापि सुसंकुहः शरैः संततपर्वभिः ।	57	* *
58		कृष्णयोरुधि संरथो भीष्मो व्यावारयद्दिशः ।	58	* *
59		वार्ष्णेयं च शरैस्तीक्ष्णैः कम्पयामास रोपितः ।	59	* *
60		सुदुरभ्युत्सयन्भीष्मः प्रहस्य स्वनवत्तदा ।	60	* *
61		ततः कृष्णस्तु समरे दृष्ट्वा भीष्मपराक्रमम् ।	61	* *
62	संप्रेक्ष्य च महाबाहुः ¹ पार्थस्य मृदुयुद्धताम् ।	62	वासुदेवस्तु संप्रेक्ष्य ¹
63		भीष्मं च शरवर्षाणि सृजन्तमनिशं युधि ।	63	
64		प्रपतन्त्वमिवादित्यं मध्यमालाद्य सैनयोः ।	64	
65		वरान्वरान्विनिघ्नन्तं पाण्डुपुत्रस्य सैनिकान् ।	65	
66		युगान्तमिव कुर्वान् भीष्मं यौधिष्ठिरे बले ।	66	
67	अमुष्यमाणो भगवान्केशवः परवीरहा ।	67	नामुष्यत महाबाहुर्मधवः

¹ The *ca* in line 62 refers to *दर्शय* in line 61. When line 61 was omitted, the *ca* had to be changed to *tu*.

Upon a careful comparison of the text as presented here, the following five points of critical importance would seem to emerge. (1) There are four cases, three of which are attempts to turn a *lectio difficilior* (belonging to the description of the third day) into a *lectio faciliior* (belonging to the ninth day), and the fourth a phenomenon of case-attraction. This would mean that — so far as the present passage goes — it is the third-day description that is earlier and original, while it is the ninth-day description (which on other considerations and in other sections we found to be earlier and original) that we have to now put down as a modification from that of the third-day. The four cases are: (a) in line 1, the reading यतमानापि which contains an archaic double *saṃdhi*, while the reading यतमानाश्च removes that grammatical irregularity; (b) in line 2, the reading भीष्मबाण-प्रपीडिताः of the third day which gives the reason why the warriors were unable to stop the fugitive soldiers; the corresponding भीष्मबाणप्रपीडितान् (presumably caused by attraction to महारथान् above) adding nothing to the main statement नाशकुर्वन्; (c) in line 13, the form देवकिनन्दनः (instead of the regular देवकीनन्दनः), which has to be explained away (like the proper name Kālidāsa) with the help of Pāṇini 6. 3. 63, whereas the corresponding यादव-नन्दनः has no grammatical irregularity to be explained away; (d) in line 30 the form रश्मिमान् (in place of the more usual रश्मिवान्), which has to be explained, under Pāṇini 8. 2. 9, by subsuming the word रश्मि under the यवादिगण, which is an आकृतिगण or a list of words to which occasional additions in a case of need are permitted. Some persons may not be inclined to attach much importance to these small points of grammar, but the fact is undoubted that four instances all possessing the same tendency have been collected from a passage of just thirty stanzas.

Here is another feature (2) offered by the same passage. Lines 17-21 contain Kṛṣṇa's exhortation to Arjuna, in which the latter is reminded of certain boastful words formerly uttered by him, which he is now called upon to make good. Line 18 of this passage is extra in the ninth-day text, and its purpose obviously is to more narrowly specify the occasion of Arjuna's earlier speech. Arjuna, it would seem, had boasted of his ability to kill Bhīṣma and others not only in Upaplavya (a suburb of the Virāṭa

capital) in the presence of Samjaya (5. 47. 46 ff.), but also in his return-message to Duryodhana conveyed through Duryodhana's messenger Ulūka, who met the Pāṇḍavas in their army-camp at Kurukṣetra (cf. 5. 158-160). As can be easily seen, it is in the nature of a later text to more narrowly specify an earlier dubious reference.

In the next place (3), when warriors fought, it was quite in the order of the day that they should wound (and even kill) each other's horses and charioteers. Accordingly, Bhīṣma could legitimately wound Kṛṣṇa the charioteer of Arjuna, as well as Arjuna himself. Lines 53-61 in the account of the third day describe how this happened. In the account of the ninth day, lines 53-54 and 57-61 are altogether absent, and, what is more noteworthy, the pronoun तौ ('those two') which in line 55 (as found in the third day's account) stands obviously for Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, is, in the ninth day's description, dropped, and Bhīṣma and Arjuna are specifically mentioned. Obviously, the author of the ninth day's description did not wish to unnecessarily emphasise Bhīṣma's having wounded the Divine charioteer of Arjuna. Such a sentiment belongs to a later age.

Further (4), we have already seen that on the ninth or the penultimate day of his Generalship, Bhīṣma all along retains his hold upon Arjuna in the fight. Such words as those in lines 47 and 48, or the description in lines 57-61 should accordingly fit in on the penultimate day, and not on a day like the third when Bhīṣma is unable to offer to the end an effective resistance to Arjuna. Actually, however, the words are found in the account of the third day (as though that was the real penultimate day of Bhīṣma's fight), and not in the account of the ninth day. If they were there originally in both the accounts, it is difficult to explain their omission from a context where they fitted better, and their retention in a context where they did not fit, unless we suppose that the context where they now are was at one time the context in which they did actually fit; that day, in other words, being, *in an earlier stage of the Epic*, the penultimate day of Bhīṣma's Generalship. That the present eighteen-day battle is frightfully padded by reduplications, exaggerations, and inventions of the miraculous is generally conceded, so that a saving of six days this way

would be quite welcome, though it might be naturally very difficult to prove it now by adequate objective evidence.

Finally (5), compare and contrast carefully the text of lines 22-27 as they appear in the third day's account and in that of the ninth. The words as we find them in the earlier account fit in there quite well, and they could just as well have fitted, in the same form, in the later or the ninth day's account. But there has been a change, which could only have been from the third day to the ninth, and not vice versa. The change could only have been motivated by the desire to explain how it was that, in spite of the great and unforgettable teaching of the *Bhagavad-gītā* revealed on the first day of the battle, Arjuna could still be invaded by the old scruples and exhibit no interest or vigour in the fight. So an attempt seems to have been made, in the account of the ninth day, to show that, although the old scruples continued still to bother Arjuna, he eventually did pull himself up and repeat in exactly the same words¹ the promise — *karisyē vacanam tava* — that he had made in BG. 18. 73^d.

The question naturally suggests itself: why was not the *Gītā motif* also introduced on the third day? It cannot be seriously maintained that the *Gītā* teaching was fresher on the third day than on the ninth. If the great teaching could at all be forgotten on the ninth day, it could just as well have been forgotten on the third. Further, if the *Gītā* teaching needed a reminder, we expect the reminder to be administered on the day that is to be followed by Arjuna's accordant action thereafter, so that there might be no need later of a reminder to the reminder, as would have been the case if the *Gītā motif* had also been introduced on the third day. There may also be this other explanation possible. The author of the later remodelling of lines 22-27 on the ninth day was greatly obsessed by the importance of the BG. teaching, which, in that more primitive stage in the development of the Epic when the third day of Bhīṣma's Generalship was the penultimate day, might not yet have attained to its subsequent pre-eminence. That the present *Bhagavadgītā*, like the present

¹ The line 28 (which is extra in the ninth day) only specifies what the Lord's *vacanam* was which Arjuna was going to follow.

Mahābhārata, had at least one (if not two) earlier less developed forms is generally conceded, although real differences begin the moment one proceeds to say what the earlier and the earliest forms of the Poem were like.

The Mahābhārata itself is our authority for the view that, before the Epic assumed its present form and dimension of approximately one lac of stanzas, it was a smaller poem of about 24,000 stanzas devoted to an account of the origin and history of the Bharata clan, culminating in the great fratricidal war, but not yet containing the several subsidiary stories or *upākhyānas* ; and that in its earliest form the Poem was limited to a descriptive account of the Victory or Jaya in the war, and need not therefore have extended beyond eight or ten thousand stanzas. Nor need we suppose that the transition from the Jaya to the Bhārata and again from the Bhārata to the Mahābhārata stages, was made all at one stroke and without intervening sub-stages. It is as though a coat originally made to fit a youth of small stature came in time to be enlarged by the opening out of certain seams and the occasional addition of cloth-pieces here and there to fit the body of an oversize adult, until someone thought once again of remodelling and substantially altering its entire cut and size and fashioning a loose overcoat out of it, — care being taken all along this triple process of sartorial evolution that no bits of the old cloth were absolutely thrown away as waste. In the final product of the tailoring art—however commendable the skill of the sempsters — it was inevitable that, once in a while, the seams, holes, creases and other vestiges of the earlier stages of the coat obtruded themselves here and there. Some of these, as for instance the reduplication of the *Kṛṣṇa-pratijñā-bhaṅga* incident with the express purpose of engrafting the *Viśvopākhyāna* on the main story, are plainly discernible. Others, however, are more subtle and elusive, as when in the body of an added passage (e. g. the account of the third day of the battle), which shows the usual signs of lateness, a fragment is discovered (e. g. the 67 lines above given) showing evident marks of an earlier stage. Until all such cases that might present themselves throughout the whole Epic are carefully garnered and tabulated, it would be hazardous to definitely say to what stage a given fragment

belongs and what the specific form of the Poem then was of which it constituted an integral part. The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata is doing in its own way, slowly and diligently, the above-mentioned work of garnering and tabulating. The time for estimating the value of the completed work is not yet. What this paper is meant to offer in the meanwhile is just a fleeting glimpse of the possibilities that can be eventually opened out, so that, in the fulness of time, we might be able to trace some of the earlier stages in the evolution of the Great Epic of India; and, as the Great Epic at all its stages generally has been a reflex of the cultural life of India, we would thereby be able to obtain a living record of the historical evolution, through the centuries, of the ideas and ideals of the peoples of Bhāratavarṣa.

Finally, it would be interesting in this context to discuss the question as to whether, in rushing upon Bhīṣma in anger, Kṛṣṇa did commit any breach of undertaking. So far as the account of the third day is concerned, the breach of plighted word is without cavil, as there Kṛṣṇa has the *Sudarśana* in his hand (55.86-93). But in the ninth-day account, which we have reason to believe was—barring the 67 lines—the original and only account of the incident once, Kṛṣṇa leaps down with the charioteer's whip in hand (*pratodapāṇih*), having the arm as the only weapon of attack (*bhujapraharaṇah*): cf. 102. 53-54. Kṛṣṇa was no doubt irritated; but in rushing upon Bhīṣma the way he does on the ninth day, Kṛṣṇa might have intended to convey to Bhīṣma the lesson that the cause for which Bhīṣma had taken the vow of lifelong celibacy would be much better served by his dying now the warrior's death on the battlefield. Bhīṣma was, in fact, already a hundred years old. The royal line of his step-brother Vicitravīrya whose interest he had vowed to protect, had produced sons (Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu) and grandsons (Duryodhana and his 99 brothers, and the five Pāṇḍavas), who were then trying out their differences on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. Bhīṣma is inwardly convinced that the Pāṇḍavas had the right on their side. All his pleadings in the case remained unheeded. He also knew that Duryodhana, on whose side he had to fight as a matter of Kṣatriya etiquette, cared very little for his help and had openly insulted him by suggesting that he might resign in favour of Karna. Was there any sense now in Bhīṣma's wishing to live

yet a few years more? The right Āryan way ever had been to march boldly forth to meet death halfway, when all the good that you could do living had been already achieved. This in fact was the point of view that, in their overnight conference on the ninth day, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas must have placed before Bhīṣma; and Kṛṣṇa's marching weaponless against Bhīṣma on the battle-field can be interpreted as a graphic prelude to that admonition. Eventually we know from the Epic itself that Bhīṣma does come round to this view: cf. 6. 103. 66; 111. 12-15; 115. 31 40. The author responsible for the duplication of the incident on the third day misunderstands the real purpose of Kṛṣṇa's march, and gives the Sudarśana in his hand; and the circumstance that Kṛṣṇa would be thereby breaking his promise is explained in some still later accounts by the pretty story that, while Kṛṣṇa had vowed not to wield any weapon during the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava war, Bhīṣma on his own part had staked his own position as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa upon his ability to make the latter break his vow; and, as is usual in a tustle between the God and his devotee, the latter wins.

SAMUDRA GUPTA'S CONQUEST OF KOTṬŪRA

BY

B. A. SALETORÉ

In this paper I propose to identify one of the conquests of Samudra Gupta mentioned in his famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription. This important record contains the following passage—

“ Whose (*i. e.* Samudra Gupta's) great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (his) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating Mahendra of Kosāla, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kerala (Karāḷa) Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Kottūra on the hill, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla Viṣṇugopa of Kāñci (and other monarchs mentioned with their capitals). ” ¹

The above conquests refer to what are called the Dakṣiṇāpātha conquests of Samudra Gupta. I shall confine myself to the fifth conquest mentioned in the above list, *viz.*, “ Svāmidatta of Kottūra on the hill ” as given by Fleet. He identified Kottūra with either Kailāsa Kottā (Lat. 19° 14' N ; Long. 83° 36' E) or with Kottūr in the Coimbatore district (Lat. 10° 32' N ; Long. 73° 2' E) ² Smith conjectured thus—“ Kottūra may be identified with the Pollachi sub-division of the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency. The beryl mines of Padiyur, which were famous in the Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era, were probably included within the limits of the kingdom.” ³

¹ Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Gupta Inscriptions*. pp. 12-14.

² *Ibid*, p. 7, n(3). Fleet wrote thus about the conquests :—“ The statement that Samudra Gupta conquered the above mentioned kings, need not be added literary, especially as it seems almost certain that the Gupta dominions were bounded on the south by the Narmadā. Nor need we even take it as a fact that he invaded their dominions.” (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 280). Why Fleet should have been so sceptical about Samudra Gupta's conquests, one fails to understand ! The reason given by him, *viz.*, that because Samudra Gupta's Empire was bounded on the south by the Narmadā, he could not have conquered the places to the south of that river, is altogether unintelligible. But in his *Gupta Inscription* Fleet rectifies some of his earlier errors.

³ Vincent Smith, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1897*, p. 29.

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar denies the identification of Smith without himself giving us any definite clue. He writes thus—"Kottūru or Kottura may be one of the several places of name in the same region (*i. e.*, Piṣṭapuram) without going so far as Coimbatore to find a place answering to the name".¹ Jayaswal merely said that Kottūra may be one of the two districts in Gānjām with a hill fortress, the other being Mahendragiri.²

The identification of Kottūra mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription with either Kailāsa Kōṭṭa or with Kottūra in the Coimbatore district or with Pollachi in the same district, as proposed by Fleet and Smith, cannot be accepted for the following reasons: (a) The Coimbatore district is too far removed from the entire region mentioned in the inscription, namely the Piṣṭapura-Eraṇḍapalle-Kāñci sector. If Samudra Gupta had really gone as far as the Coimbatore district, which lies to the south of Mysore, there would have been some reference in the inscription to any of the principalities that lay between Kāñci and Coimbatore. Since there is no reference of this kind, it is evident that the Gupta conqueror did not go as far as Coimbatore to the south. (b) To have attracted the attention of that great warrior, Kottūra must have been a place of prominence either as a military stronghold or as the capital of a kingdom. There is no evidence that either Kailāsa Kōṭṭa or Kottūru or Pollāchi in the Coimbatore district was ever a place of any importance in any period of Indian history.

Hence we have to turn elsewhere in order to identify the hill-fortress of Kottūra mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. I must confess that both Fleet and Smith were correct when they assumed that it ought to be somewhere in Karnāṭaka. For the name is Kannāḍa. In fact, there are at least three Kottūrus in Karnāṭaka with which one may be tempted to

¹ S. K. Ayyangar, *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 27.

² Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 137. Dr. D. C. Sirkar conjectures thus that the state mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, which "may be conjecturally assigned to the Kalinga region," are Kurāṭa, Kottūra, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalle, Avamukta and Devarāṣṭra. (Sirkar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Eastern Deccan*, p. 67). Dr. Sirkar's conjectures are no better than those of Drs. Ayyangar and Jayaswal.

identify the Kottūra mentioned above. There is Kottūru in Bairakūru *hobli* in the Kolar district of the Mysore State; another Kottūru in the Tonḍebhāvi *hobli* also in the Kolar district; and a third Kottūru in the Cintāmaṇi *hobli* also in the same district. I am not inclined to identify the Kottūra mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription with any of these three places in the Kolar district, because they do not seem to have been at any time either capitals of kingdoms or military strongholds. The epigraphs discovered in these places merely show that they were ordinary localities of average importance. Thus in Kottūru in the Bairakūru *hobli*, a stone inscription recording an ordinary gift of paddy by an official called the Illustrious Mallana to a citizen named Virappa has been found.¹ At Kottūru in the Tonḍebhāvi *hobli* a damaged inscription records the gift of land by a high Vijayanagara official called Kōnappaya Deva Mahārāya, the Governor of Penugonḍa, to the temple of the gods Tiruvengalanātha and Aubaleśvara in A. D. 1546, during the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya.² At Kottūru in the Cintāmaṇi *hobli*, has been found a stone inscription dated only on the 30th lunar day of the dark half of Kārttika of the cyclic year Kālāyukta (and hence not verifiable), but of the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, registering the gift of land below the tank in the village of Kottūru (*Kottūru kereya keḷage*) for the services of the god Tiruvengalanātha of Ālembādi, by Kāmappa Nāyaka under orders from the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Virappa Oḍeyar.³ In none of these records is there any evidence to show that the Kottūrus in the Kolār district were of any military or political importance.⁴

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1923*, p. 65.

² *Ibid* for 1925, p. 75.

³ *Ibid* for 1926, pp. 73-74.

⁴ There are other Kottūras in the Tamil land. For example, there is Kottūru in Nenmalaināḍu, a sub-division of Rajendracolavalanāḍu, now in the Tanjore district, Madras Presidency. An incomplete record of the Cola king Rājādhirāja III mentions a gift of land in that village to the local deity. (Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency* II, Tj., 480, p. 1291). This place contains many records none of which refer to any fort. They are entirely benedictory epigraphs dated in the twelfth century A. D., relating to the local temple of Koluṇḍi-

But this is not the case with another place of the same name with which I identify the Kottūra mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. This is Kottūra in the Kudligi talukā, Bellary district, Madras Presidency, which satisfies the three essential conditions necessary for its identification with Kottūra of the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions, *viz.*, that it was in Karnāṭaka, that it was near to the Kāñci-Piṣṭapuram-Erandapalle sector, and that it was the capital of a kingdom with traditions of greatness extending over at least six centuries. It is called Kottūru in some records and Kottūra in others. In fact, so late as the sixteenth century, as will be seen in the course of this paper, while examining the Vijayanagara records, it is called consistently Kottūra exactly as in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

It must be admitted that for the present we are in the dark as to the history of Kottūra for some ages immediately after the age of Samudra Gupta. But in the eleventh century it figures as one of the conquests of a well-known Coḷa monarch. I refer to the famous Tamil king Rājendra Coḷa II, also called Kulottuṅga Coḷa I, who ruled from A. D. 1070 till about 1118.¹ In a fragmentary stone inscription found in the Durgā temple at Agara, Yelandur taluka, Mysore State, and bearing two regnal dates (the 12th and the 34th years) of the king's reign, corresponding to A. D. 1081 and 1103 respectively, we have the following information that the king, when still a *yuvārāja*,

(continued from the previous page)

śvara (Rangacharya, *ibid.*, Tj. 480-502, pp. 1291-1294). There is another Kottūru in the Chinglepat District, where records of the Coḷa King Kulottuṅga III, referring to a former gift by a Sambhuvarāya to the local deity at Kottūru, have been found (Rangacharya, *ibid.*, I. Cg. 380, p. 367). In a record dated in the 5th year of the Coḷa King Rājendradeva (A. D. 1052-1063), it is called Colavidyādhara caturvedimaṅgalam (Rangacharya, Cg. 1152, p. 462). Another Kottūru is located in the Ambaranāḍu, a subdivision of Colamaṇḍala, in a record of the Coḷa King Virarājendra Coladeva. (Rangacharya, *ibid.*, Cg. 1153, p. 63). A still another Kottūru is mentioned in a record of King Rājādhirāja II (Rangacharya, *ibid.*, Ct. 337, p. 517). For a Kottūru in the Kistna District, as mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1576-7, see Rangacharya, *ibid.*, II, Kt. 702A., p. 885. In the Pudukottai State there is another Kottūru which is mentioned in a record of Kulottuṅga Cola Deva I (Rangacharya, *ibid.* III, Pd. 41, p. 1626). And for another Kottūru in the Travancore State, see *ibid.*, III, p. 1696.

¹ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 84.

wedded for the first time to the brilliant goddess of victory by his heroic deeds at Śakkaragoṭṭam (Cakrakotṭam in the Bastar State in Central India), captured troops of elephants at Vairagaram; that, having spurred his war-steed, he unsheathed his sword and displayed the strength of his arms, and put to flight the army of the kings of Kontala (Kuntala), who were armed with sharp lances, and put on the garland of victory over the Northern region (here follow his other conquests); that he was pleased to take possession of the pearl fisheries, the Podiyal mountain where the three forms of Tamil flourished, the middle Sayyim (Sahya) where the furious rutting elephants were captured and Kanpi, and to establish settlements of people on all sides (in the conquered country) including Kottāru, so that all the heroes of the western hill-country ascended to high heaven while the Kungalars (the Kongas of Konganāḍ) became scattered, etc.¹

In the above list, although Kottāru is mentioned after the pearl fisheries of the south and after the Podiyal mountain, yet it is essentially located in the western Sahya region which is precisely the geographical position in which we find Kottūra in the Bellary district. The fact that it is mentioned as one of the conquests of king Rājendra Coḷa II shows that in the first half of the eleventh century, Kottūra was an important military centre.

That in addition it was also an important cultural centre is proved by a stone inscription found in front of the ruined Kalleśvara temple at Kottūra itself. It is dated in the Cālukya-Vikrama era 36, Nandana, Vaiśākha, śu. 3, Br̥haspati, and Uttarāyana, corresponding probably to A. D. 1112, April, 1 Monday, the week-day not corresponding. It refers to the reign of Western Cālukyan monarch Tribhuvanamalla, who is identified with Vikramāditya VI, and who ruled from A. D. 1076 till 1126.² It mentions the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyadeva as ruling over Noṇabavāḍi (Noḷambavāḍi) 32,000, and the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ghaṭṭiayarasa of the Kadamba family as ruling over the Kōgaḷi 500 Province. The latter official made a gift of

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1917*, pp. 42-43; Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 93.

² Rice, *ibid*, p. 73.

land (specified), after washing the feet of the teacher Amṛtarāśi Paṇḍitadeva, for the services of the god Rāmeśvara of Kottūra and for feeding the asectics. The epithet used in connection with Kottūra is noteworthy :— it is called śrī (the illustrious,) (and) original Kottūra (śrī Kottūra mūlasthānaṁ). The donor, I may add, has a string of titles, one of which is the following *Ucchaṅgi-devi-labha-vara-prasādam* (He who had secured the boon from the goddess [of] Ucchaṅgi).¹

We have now to show that *Kottūra* was the capital of a province. This is proved by a stone inscription found in the Pampāpati-śvāmi temple at Bennehalli, Harapanahalli tāluka, in the same Bellary district. The date of the record is irregular, but it refers to A. D. 1148, April the 20th, Tuesday, the week-day Monday as well as the Solar eclipse and the Uttarāyana-samkrānti given in the record not corresponding. The monarch mentioned in it is the Western Cālukya Jagadekamalladeva (II), whose other name was Permma, and who ruled from A. D. 1138 till 1150.² His Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Jagadekamalladeva Vira Pāṇḍyadeva was ruling over the Nalambavāḍi 32,000 Province from his capital of Ucchaṅgi. He granted the village of Bennaganūru (location given) to the Mahāpradāna Vatsarāja to be granted to the temple of the god Svayambhūdeva of the village. We are informed that at this time king Nācideva of the Kadamba family ruled over the Kottūru 12 and the Kogali 500 Provinces from his capital of Kottūru (*intu negerttegum pogarttegum tāne Janmabhūmi yamb-i-Kottūr-panneraḍuman Kogali-ainūruman.*)³ Here was, therefore, Kottūra the capital of the two Provinces of Kottūru 12 and Kogali 500, and the " Homeland of Fame and Renown, " in the middle of the twelfth century. We may note incidentally that the larger division called Kogali 500 included within itself the smaller division called Kottūru 12.

In order to find out the truth of the above eulogy given to Kottūru as the " Homeland of Fame and Renown, " we have to

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, P. I. No. 187. pp. 181-182 ; 319 of 1925.

² *Rice Mysore and Coorg*, p. 73.

³ *S. I. I.*, IX, P. I., No. 251, pp. 260-262. The Kogali 500 Province is now represented by the Harapanahalli and Hūvinahadagalli talukas of the Bellary, District. Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 294.

ascertain as to when the larger political division called Kōgaḷi 500 came into existence. In other words, we have to find out the antiquity of the Kōgaḷi 500 Province itself. This Province may be dated, as will be shown later on in this paper, to at least the fifth century A. D. But from the ninth century onwards it figures prominently in epigraphs. Thus a stone inscription found in front of the Veṅkaṭeśadeva temple at Mēvuṇḍi, Mundaragi Peṭha, Dharwar district, and dated Śaka 818, Nala Kārttika, śu. 5 Monday corresponding to A. D. 897, October the 3rd Monday, mentions the Rāstrakūṭa monarch Akālavarṣa, Kṛṣṇa II, who ruled from A. D. 939 till 968.¹ Under him was a Mahāsāmanta, whose name is lost, but who belonged to the Yādava dynasty, and who was placed over the Kōgaḷi 500 and the Māseyavāḍi 140 Provinces. He constructed a temple of Keyageśvara at Melivḍu which is called a capital (*rājadhānī*).² This high official was no other than the Mahāsāmanta Kuppayarasa, who really held charge of the Puligere 300 Province in addition to the two divisions mentioned above.³ Governor Śobhanarasa also possessed Kōgaḷi under him, in addition to Banavāsi 600, Belvoḷa 300, Puṛigere 300, Kundūru 500, and Kukkanūru 30 Provinces, in the tenth century.⁴

The Kōgaḷi 500 division passed under the Mahāsāmanta Bijja, who governed it under the Rāstrakūṭa king Nityavarṣa Indra Ballaha III in Śaka 844, Citrabhānu, Bhādrapada Tuesday, full moon, which corresponds but for the week-day, which happens to be Monday, to A. D. 922, September the 9th.⁵ It is obviously the same Mahāsāmanta with the title of *Birudara Roṭṭa*, who is said to be ruling over the Kōgaḷi 500 division under the same monarch, in an undated record found close to the Kalleśvara temple at Bāgaḷi, Harapanahallī taluka, Bellary district.⁶ Kōgaḷi

¹ Rice. *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

² *S. I. I.* IX, P. I., No. 22, p. 13.

³ Krisnamacharlu, *S. I. I.* IX, P. I. Intr. p. v. For another copy of the same record in characters of the twelfth century A. D., see *ibid.* No. 30, p. 17.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*. IV, pp. 206-300; *S. I. I.* IX, P. I, Intr. p. viii.

⁵ *S. I. I.* *ibid.* No. 57, p. 32. See also No. 58, page *ibid.*

⁶ *S. I. I.* *ibid.* No. 59, p. 33.

500 is called Kōgalināḍu in Śaka 853 (A. D. 931-2) under the official Ayyapayya, in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV.¹ In A. D. 956 it was governed by the Mahāsāmanta Rottayya, under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Kannara (Kṛṣṇa III).²

Kōgaḷi 500 remained in tact in the age of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, who had overthrown the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in A. D. 973. It was governed in A. D. 987 along with Kisukāḍu 70 by the Mahāsāmanta Ayatavarmā, in the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Āhavamalla, Tailapa Nūrmāḍi.³ The Mahāsāmanta's real name was Ādityavarmā, and he continued to be the governor of Kōgaḷi 500 till A. D. 993. We may mention that in that year he had under him also Saundatti 12.⁴

The notices of Kōgaḷi in the epigraphs of the eleventh century are more conspicuous. In the reign of the Western Cālukyan monarch Jagadekamalla, Jayasimha II, Kōgaḷi 500, along with a number of other divisions, was placed under his feudatory Udayādityarasa in A. D. 1018.⁵ It continued to be under the same feudatory till A. D. 1032, when his second son Pallava Permmāḍi was made its governor.⁶ From A. D. 1032, till 1048 Pallava Permmāḍi governed the Kōgaḷi 500 division first under the monarch Jayasimha II, and then under the latter's successor Someśvara I.⁷ One of the records dated A. D. 1045 indicates the religious importance of the province. We are informed in this record that there was a prominent Kālāṇukha maṭha called *Simhapariṣe* at Kōgaḷi for the maintenance of which an official called Ghaṭṭiyarasa made a specified gift of land.⁸

Under the same monarch Someśvara I we find in A. D. 1050 the feudatory Narasingadeva of the Pallava family as governor of Kōgaḷi 500.⁹ In A. D. 1054 it was still under Narasingadeva,

¹ *S. I. I. IX. P. I.*, No. 61, p. 34. ² *Ibid.*, No. 66, p. 38. ³ *Ibid.*, No. 75, p. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 76, 77, pp. 46-47. ⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 80, p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 85, 87, 90, 94, 96, pp. 56-58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, Nos. 85, 87, 88, 89, pp. 56-60 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Dg. 126, p. 74; *S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 94, p. 64; No. 99, p. 69; No. 101, p. 70; No. 104, pp. 78-79; *Ep. Car.* XI. Dg. 19, p. 29; *Ep. Car.* VII. He., 107, p. 77.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, *ibid.*, No. 101, op. cit. For the religious (i. e., Lingayat and Jaina) importance of Kōṭṭūra, and, therefore, of Kōgaḷi, read *Bellary Gazetteer*, I. pp. 290-291.

⁹ *S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 107, p. 82.

whose son Kumāra Corayadeva was governing the Uccaṅgi 30 division.¹ That Kōgaḷi was also a Jaina centre is proved by a record dated Śaka 977 (A. D. 1055) of the same monarch Someśvara I. This epigraph is doubly interesting. Firstly, because it informs us that in Kōgaḷi there was a Jaina temple (*basadi*) which imparted education, and that the Jaina teacher Indrakīrti made a specified gift of land in Ittage, a suburb of Kōgaḷi, for imparting education at the *basadi*. Secondly, we are told that that *basadi* at Kōgaḷi had been formerly constructed by the king Durvinṭa (*idu Durvinṭanindam modalōḷ basadi nāḍamattara ghaḷeyam viditayas-Indrakīrttigalū-uditoditum āge māḷidar-Kōgaḷiyol*).² Since the king Durvinṭa mentioned in this record could have been no other than the well-known Gaṅga king of that name, about whose patronage to Jainism I have given ample proof elsewhere, and since he lived in the fifth century A. D.,³ we are to assume that Kōgaḷi, and therefore, its capital Kottūru, were already prominent in the fifth century A. D. This brings us to within one century from the age of the Emperor Samudra Gupta.

The political and religious importance of Kōgaḷi is further proved by a record dated A. D. 1062, when the same monarch Someśvara I was ruling. But the feudatory over Kōgaḷi 500 was now Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja, who governed the entire Nolamba-vāḍi 32,000 Province. The mutilated record that gives us this detail also tells us that on that date, all the ministers and the *mahāprabhus* of Kōgaḷināḍ and the Kadambaligenāḍ (*śrīmat-arasara-samasta-pradhānar-Kōgaḷināḍ...vuṇḍabaḷigenāḍ-prabha...*), and with a number of leading Jaina and Brahman citizens, farmers of the five *maṭhasthānas*, the 96,000 (Province) Representatives, made a grant of land to the Ūroḍeya (Collector of the District) Māraṇayya.⁴

¹ *Ep. Car.*, XI. JI. 10, p. 85.

² *S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 117, p. 92. ³ Salestere, *Medieval Jainism*, pp. 19-23.

⁴ *E. Car.* XI, Dg. 143, pp. 77-78. Kōgaḷi 500 figures in another mutilated record dated A. D. 1058 under a feudatory called Gaṅga Permmāḍi Brahmadevarāja, who was evidently no other than Vinayāditya mentioned above. *Ibid.*, Dg. 153, pp. 79-80.

The undated Kōgaḷi *basadi* record of the reign of the king Trailokyamalladeva is evidently to be assigned to this age ; but I cannot make out how the editor of this epigraph came to write about the *nakharas* (citizens) of Kōgaḷi.¹ This division continued to be under Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Vijayāditya in A. D. 1065² This feudatory, who is called the Lord of Veṅgi, was governor of Kōgaḷi in A. D. 1066.³

In A. D. 1068 in the reign of the next Western Cālukyan monarch Someśvara II, Bhuvanaikamalla, the governor placed over Kōgaḷi 500 was the Nolamba Pallava Jayasingadeva.⁴ Three years later in the reign of king Someśvara's famous brother Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalladeva, this monarch made a gift of the village of Koṭiganūru in Kōgaḷi 500 for the services of the god Kalideva, and for the Kālāmukha ascetics in the *maṭha* of Lakuleśvara Paṇḍita of Pūvina-Padāṅgaḷe. This record is interesting because it gives the geographical location of Kōgaḷi 500 thus—*Tuṅgabhadrā-nadiya teṅkaṇa Kōgaḷi-aiṇāra-baliya*.⁵ This fact that Kōgaḷi 500 was on the southern side of the Tuṅgabhadrā confirms my statement that that division, with its capital Kōṭṭūra, was essentially within the limits of Karnāṭaka.

We may pause here before proceeding further with the history of Kōgaḷi 500 and its capital Kōṭṭūra, in order to understand the reference to the latter place in one of the inscriptions of the great Tamil monarch Rajendra Coḷa II. It is precisely because Kōgaḷi lay on the southern side of the Tuṅgabhadrā, and to the north of the Tamil country, that its capital Kōṭṭūra is said to be in the record dated A. D. 1070 already cited above, as having been in the Western hilly country. Further, it is because of its political, religious, and cultural importance that, as related above, it is styled in A. D. 1148 as the " Homeland of Fame and Renown ".⁶

S. I. I. IX, No. 130, pp. 112-113.

² *Ibid.*, No. 128, pp. 109-10.

Ibid., No. 129, pp. 111-112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 132, p. 114.

Ibid., No. 135, pp. 118-119, ll. 9-10.

⁶ I am inclined to believe that quite a number of places in the Tamil country mentioned in an earlier context in this paper, came to be called Kōṭṭūru after the capture of the famous capital of Kogali 500 by the well-known Tamil monarch Rajendra Coḷa II.

The importance of Kōgaḷi 500 is further proved by another record dated A. D. 1108. This is however a very much damaged inscription. From it we gather that in the reign of the same Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalladeva, the great minister, bearing the burden of whole kingdom, possessed of the three forms of government, the Pērggaḍe Rācamayya Nāyaka held the office of Pērggaḍe of the Kōgaḷi 500 and the Kadambalige 1,000 Provinces.¹

We lose sight of Kōgaḷi for about forty years, but in A. D. 1148-9 in the reign of the Western Cālukyan monarch Jagadekamalla II, Permma, as related above, when the feudatory Jagadekamalla Vira Pāndyadeva was governing the Nōḷamba-vāḍi 32,000 Province, from Ucchaṅgi, the Kadamba lord Nācideva ruled over the Kottūru 12 and the Kōgaḷi 500 divisions from the capital of Kottūru.² But in the reign of the same monarch, the same feudatory governed the Nōḷambavāḍi 32,000 Province from the capital of Ucchaṅgi. The mutilated record dated A. D. 1150 which gives us this information, contains further proof that Kōgaḷi, and, therefore, Kottūru, was within the limits of Karnāṭaka. For it informs us that to the face of Lady Wealth of Kuntala, Kōgaḷi was the forehead mark (*śrīmat-Kuntalavenbud-onduvilasat-Lakṣmīkaram Kogaḷi-nāḍ-adarkke tilakam*).³ Since Kuntala, as is well-known, was always within the boundaries of Karnāṭaka, and sometimes identical with it, we may reasonably assume that the scribe of the above record meant by Kuntala no other land but Karnāṭaka.

That Kottūru was undoubtedly the capital of Kōgaḷi 500 and of Kottūr 12 divisions, is proved by a record wrongly dated in Śaka 1085 (which is evidently an error for 1075) (A. D. 1154, January the 16th Friday, the week-day not corresponding), which informs us that Nācidevarasa of the Kadamba family governed the Kōgaḷi 500 and the Kottūru 12 divisions from his capital of Kottūra (*Nāci-dēvarasaru Kōgaliya-ainūrumam Koṭūru-panneraḍumum duṣṭa-nighraha-śiṣṭha-pratipalānadind-ūḷdu Koṭū-*

¹ *Ep. Car.* XI, Jl. 12, pp. 85-86.

² *S. I. I.* IX. No. 250, pp. 260-2, *op. cit.*

³ *S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 257, pp. 272-273.

ralu-sukha-sunkathā-vinodadim - rājyam - geyyuttam - ire).¹ This Kadamba scion was evidently the same official we saw above under the monarch Jagadekamalla II. Nācideva is mentioned as the grand-father of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vira Jagadaḷa Bammidevarasa, who is represented as governing over the same region in A. D. 1212, evidently in the reign of the Hoysala ruler Ballāla II, although the latter is not mentioned in the epigraph. For our purpose we may note that the feudatory Nācideva is spoken of as having hailed from Kottūru itself (*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram Kottūra Nācidevarasam*).² The high praise given to Kōgaḷi 500 in the next year A. D. 1213 confirms my statement that that division was a part of Karnāṭaka. In this damaged record we have the following—That to the country Kuntala Kōgaḷi was a mirror, and to the Pāṇḍyadeśa a shining head jewel (*Kuntala-dēśakke-idu kannadi.....Pāṇḍya-viśayamam sogayipudu...ant-eseva-Pāṇḍya-viśayakke-int-idu ramanī mukuram-āgi Kōgaḷiya-ainūrumam*).³

We traverse almost half a century before we come across the next reference to Kōgaḷi and Kottūru. By this time this part of Karnāṭaka had passed under the suzerainty of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In A. D. 1276 during the reign of the Yādava king Rāmacandradeva, the great nobleman and the master of the hill-forts, Khaṇḍe Rāya Hemmāḍi Deva made a grant of the Kottūru-vṛtti to some one whose name is effaced in the record.⁴

The ancient prestige of Kottūru was maintained in the Vijayanagara age. In a royal grant dated A. D. 1354 of king

¹ This inscription refers to the reign to the Western Cālukyan monarch Vikramāditya VI, but falls within the reign of Trailokyamalla, Taila III. (*S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 264, pp. 279-280).

² *S. I. I. op. cit.*, No. 331, p. 350.

³ *Ibid*, No. 332, p. 351. It may be observed here that Beṇṇekallu was not the chief town in Kōgaḷi 500, as maintained by the Editor of the Kalleśvara temple record, but only the chief village. For the original runs thus—*Kōgaḷiya-ainūraam Beṇṇekallu-hanneradakkam-mukhyavād Beṇṇekal-grāmadalu*. This record is dated A. D. 1226. *S. I. I.*, *ibid*. No. 343, pp. 362-366.

⁴ *Ep. car.* XI, Jl. 30, p. 87. It cannot be made out whether Kottūrahalli which figures in a record dated A. D. 1287 (*Ep. Car.* VII, Sk. 312, p. 153) was the same as the Kottūra discussed in these pages. Perhaps it was not, because it is called a *halli* or village, while the Kottūra of our record was always the capital of a division.

Bukka Rāya, that ruler is represented as having given to Rāmaṇṇa Jyoiśa (descent stated), the astrologer of Hariharadevapura, the village of Mittaliganakatte or Mittaligonakotte, which, the king had ordered to be built within the limits of Hariharadevapura in the Ucchaṅgivēṇthe belonging to the Kottūru-cāvaḍi.¹ The word *cāvaḍi* or hall used in this connection is noteworthy, in as much as it suggests that even in the first half of the fourteenth century, Kottūru continued to be one of the provincial seats of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The political importance of Kottūru is still further proved by another record of A. D. 1382 of the reign of the next Vijayanagara monarch Harihara II. This ruler granted the village of Śankaripura in the Hariharasīme in the Ucchaṅgivēṇthe belonging to the Kottūru-cāvaḍi within the Vijayanagara kingdom, to the learned Brahman Lingarasa (descent stated).² In a record dated A. D. 1406 of the reign of the Vijayanagara king Deva Rāya II, three villages of Jigale, Kundūru and Horasandra are said to have been attached to the town of Bhānuvati which belonged to the Kottūru-sīme and the Ucchaṅgivēṇthe.³

The Vijayanagara monarchs, as I have amply proved elsewhere,⁴ always maintained the traditional administrative divisions of the land. This explains why Kottūru-cāvaḍi still continued to figure in the Vijayanagara records. In A. D. 1516 in the reign of the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, a minister was placed over Kottūru. His name was Aruha-Timmaṇa Nāyaka. In that year he granted the village of Daṇṇāyakanapura for the charity water-lift at Soge.⁵ Nonabanavasikere is said to have been in the *vaḷita* of Kottūru in A. D. 1527, when the high official called Rāyasada Nārāyaṇappa was placed over Kottūru.⁶ Three years later (1530) in the reign of Acyuta Deva, Kottūru again figures. The record that gives us this information tells us that the village named Ballāpura, which was granted as a gift, was situated in Hariharasīme belonging to Pāṇḍyanād which was a

¹ *Ep. Car.* XI, Dg. 67, p. 63.

² *Ibid.* XI, Dg. 68, p. 67. ³ *Ibid.* Dg. 103, p. 71.

⁴ *Salatore, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, II. *passim*.

⁵ *S. I. I.* IX. P. II. No. 503, p. 516. ⁶ *Ibid.* No. 522, p. 538.

subdivision of Ucchangivēṇṭhe which itself formed a part of Kottūru-cāvadi.¹

In the reign of Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya the references to Kottūru are copious. An undated stone inscription found at Nandihalli, Hadaganahalli tāluka, Bellary district, registers a gift made by that Emperor of the village of Volalugundi Bhayirapura, surnamed Gopināthapura, in Kottūru-sīme to the temples of Bañjēsvara and Gopinātha at Timmalāpura, which was an agrahāra set up by Rāmapayya.² The barbers of Bāguli in Kottūru-sīme in A. D. 1547, during the reign of the same monarch, were exempted from the payment of certain specified taxes by that Vijayanagara ruler.³ In the same year Bemma Nāyaka granted the village of Amaragere in Rangapura-sthala situated in Kottūru-sīme, as a gift to Varunakaṇṭha Odeyar.⁴ The royal order of A. D. 1547 exempting the barbers from paying certain taxes, was extended in January to the barbers of Kottūru-sīme, and in February of the same year to the barbers of Maidūru also in the Kottūru-sīme.⁵ Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka was governing over the Kottūru 30 division which belonged to the Kōgaḷi province in 1550, also in the reign of the same monarch Sadāsiva Rāya.⁶ In the record dated A. D. 1551 we are informed that Kottūru-sīme had been granted to Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka himself. This record clearly proves that the ancient administrative divisions were in tact under Vijayanagara. For it informs us that Kottūru-sīme formed a part of the Kōgaḷi-vēṇṭhe which was a sub-division of Pāṇḍyanāḍu which belonged to the Hastināvati-valita (*Hastināvati-valituda Pāṇḍyanāḍa-valaganu Kōgaḷiya-vēṇṭhe*

¹ *Ep. Cor.* XI, Dg. 28, p. 38.

² 464 of 1914; Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, I, By. 224, p. 288; *S. I. I.*, IX, P. II, No. 682, p. 677.

³ *S. I. I.*, IX, P. II, No. 622, p. 627.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, IX, P. II, No. 626, pp. 629-630.

⁵ *Ibid.* Nos. 628, 629, pp. 631. In view of all these records, the insertion of the word Kuṇṭenura in the record dated A. D. 1548 by the Editors (*S. I. I.*, IX, P. II, No. 630, p. 632) should be changed to Kottūru. For "Kuṇṭenūra-sīme" is not mentioned in inscriptions; and there could not have been two *Sīmes*-Kottūru-sīme and Kuṇṭenūra-sīme in the same *valita* of Kōgaḷi almost in the same year.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 640, p. 638. See also 71 of 1904; Rangacharya, *op. cit.* I, By. 263, p. 294.

the *Kṛta yuga* was called Meghanāda, because it had been the abode of a fiend (*rākṣasa*) called Meghanāda. In the *Treta yuga* it was the abode of Hiranyaka. When he was slain by the god Nārāyaṇa, gold rained from heaven on this hill-fortress, and hence it was called Kanakagiri. In the *Dvāpara yuga* it was the abode of the great ṛṣi Uttāṅga, and hence it was called Uttāṅga-parvata. And in the *Kali yuga* a Brahman maiden called Ucchāṅgi and two others prayed to the god Īśvara and obtained a boon, and hence it was called Ucchāṅgiparvata.¹

The strategic importance of Ucchāṅgi, and hence of Kottura, in the twelfth century is proved by the records pertaining to the well-known Hoysala House. Its greatest ruler was king Viṣṇu-vardhana Bittiḡadeva, whose famous general was Gaṅga Rāja. I have already enumerated elsewhere the military achievements of this great commander.² General Gaṅga Rāja must have conquered the great Ucchāṅgi fortress in 1123, although the Śravaṇa Belgōḷa inscription dated in that year, and another inscription dated in 1131, attributed its conquest to king Viṣṇu-vardhana himself.³

The conquest of Ucchāṅgi in the reign of that monarch (A. D. 1111-1141) did not mean the annihilation of the ancient family that had ruled over that fortress. In the reign of his grandson, king Ballāḷa II, who ruled from 1173 till 1220, its rulers again gave trouble to the Hoysala State. This necessitated its reduction by king Ballāḷa II. Two records, both found in Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, give us valuable details of this conquest. The record dated 1181 contains the following information—That when in the pride of his arm Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, king Ballāḷa marched forth, and surrounding and besieging Ucchāṅgi, whose peaks had been reduced to powder by the blows from the tusks of the groups of lordly elephants of his army, captured king Pāṇḍya, together with his beautiful women, country, treasures, father, and group of horses. Laying siege to

¹ *S. I. I.*, No. IX, 126, pp. 107-108.

² See Salatore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 114, 116-119, 121-132, ff.

³ *Ep. Car.* II. No. 132, p. 143. But see the text of Nos. 240 and 384, pp. 102, 172, in order to be convinced that this conquest could have been the work only of Gaṅga Rāja.

Ucchaṅgi, which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, king Ballāla, a treasury of irresistible prowess, took the fort with ease and seized the kings Kāmadeva and the famous Oḍeya, and their treasures, women, and troops of horses.¹ The same facts relating to king Kāmadeva and Oḍeya are mentioned in the later record dated 1195.² We have to infer from the record of 1181 that the rulers of Ucchaṅgi belonged to the Pāṇḍya House, under whom the Cālukyas might have continued to govern.

From whatever point of view we may look at Ucchaṅgi, and, therefore, at Kottūra,— traditional, geographical, or political,— it is clear that it was in Karnāṭaka proper. This means that Samudra Gupta entered the north-eastern part of Karnāṭaka, and conquered the ruler of that region. Here we come across some difficulties which need clarification. I shall take the order of conquests as given in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. It has been mentioned above that the conquest of Kottūra is placed after the conquest of Piṣṭapura and before that of Ēraṇḍapalle. Of these Piṣṭapura was undoubtedly the modern Pithāpuram (12 miles north-east of Cocanada) in the East Godāvari district. It was the capital of ancient Kalinga.³ Whether we are to take the difficult passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription— "*Paṣṭapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*," along with Fleet, as referring to king Mahendra of Piṣṭapura,⁴ or along with Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ramachandramurty, as referring to a ruler called Mahendragiri,⁵ is beside the point for the present, because we are concerned here with the order of the conquests in the Ēraṇḍapalle-Piṣṭapuram region.

¹ *Ep. Car.* II, No. 327, p. 136. ² *Ibid.* No. 335, p. 142.

³ Allan, *Gupta Coins* p. XXII; Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 300 (1924 ed.).

⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7, (n. 2), 13. Granting that we accept Fleet's interpretation that Kottūra was on the hill, it may be made to agree with the location of Kottūra given above thus:— That Kottūra is spoken of as belonging to the fortress of Ucchaṅgi which was itself a hill-fortress. It may be remembered here that Kottūra is described in epigraphs as having formed a part of province (*vēṇṭhe*) of Ucchaṅgi.

⁵ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 761-762; V. S. Ramachandry Murty, *ibid.*, III, pp. 230-231.

From Piṣṭapuram Samudra Gupta marched in a south-westerly direction to Kottūra in the Bellary district, and then turned his attention to Ērandapalle. A discussion of the location of this latter place will convince us that Samudra Gupta had, indeed, entered the heart of the Deccan. Two views have been expressed concerning Ērandapalle. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and Prof. V. Rangacharya maintain that Ērandapalle of the Allahabad Pillar inscription was no other than Ērandapalle in the Gānjām district.¹ The other view is that of Fleet, Allan, and Smith, who identify it with Ērandol in the Khandesh district.²

I am inclined to accept the latter view that Ērandapalle of the Allahabad Pillar inscription was no other than Ērandol in the Khandesh district for the following reasons. If we agree to the idea that the scribe of the Allahabad Pillar inscription has mentioned the conquests of Samudra Gupta in some order, then, we cannot accept the view that the Ērandapalle of the Allahabad Pillar record was in the Ganjam district. For, according to the latter view, it would mean that Samudra Gupta first conquered Piṣṭapura, and then marched north-eastwards to the Ganjam district. This would mean that he had left an enemy in the rear when he first struck at Piṣṭapura. We cannot credit Samudra Gupta with such a tactless blunder. What makes us assert this with confidence is the fact that if Samudra Gupta had really gone north-eastwards to the Ganjam district, the scribe of the record would have mentioned first Piṣṭapura, next Ērandapalle, and then Kottūra. But Kottūra is placed *after* Piṣṭapura and *before* Ērandapalle thereby justifying our assumption that Ērandapalle must have been located in a region which was geographically

¹ S. K. Ayyangar, *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 39; C. P. of 4 of 1912-3; Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presy.*, III, pp. 1674-1675. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal wrote thus about Damana of Erandapalle. "..... and Damana of Erandapalle must have been a 'rāja' or ruler of the status of a district officer under Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura" (Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 37). This is one of the many conjectures which vitiates Dr. Jayaswal's interesting work.

² Fleet, *J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 368-9; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. XXIII-XXIV; Smith, *E. H. I.* pp. 284 (1914 ed.), 301 (1924 ed.).

nearer to Kottūra than to Piṣṭapura. Ērandol in the Khandesh district is precisely such a place. While we are in the dark as to the antiquity and importance of Ērandol, we may note that from this place in the Khandesh district, Samudra Gupta turned south-eastwards, and marching through a most difficult country, presented himself before Kāñci (the modern Conjeevaram near Madras,) where ruled the Pallava king Viṣṇugopa whom he subjugated.¹

It must be admitted that with the available evidence, we do not know the reasons which prompted Samudra Gupta to turn south-eastwards from Ērandol to Kāñci. All that we may hazard to point out is that the powerful Pallavas of Kāñci, whose sway extended over a large part of the centre of the Madras Presidency, along the coast and in the interior, might have been alarmed at the advance of Samudra Gupta, who had struck at Kottūra, a vital part of Karnātaka.

Now to the identity of the ruler Svāmidatta, it must also be confessed that we can likewise only conjecture. The name itself—Svāmidatta,—deserves some comment. There have been rulers whose names have ended in *datta*. Thus, in the Ērandmall Boar statue inscription assigned to the 5th century A. D., the names Maheśadatta and Varāhadatta, obviously brothers, are mentioned.² I do not think we could identify the Svāmidatta of the Allahabad Pillar inscription with a ruler of this family, because of the following reasons:—(a) Ērāp, which lies eleven miles from Khurai (on the G. I. P.), in the Saugor district of the Central Provinces, is too far away from Kottūra. (b) Although Ērāp is very intimately connected with Samudra Gupta himself—an inscription of his having been found here,—yet we do not know whether any ruler of Ērāp held sway over Kottūra. (c) If a ruler of Ērāp called Svāmidatta had really been subjugated by Samudra Gupta, this fact would have been men-

¹ Prof. Dubreuil denies that Samudra Gupta ever entered the Tamil land. *The Pallavas*, p. 14. But he does not give any reason for arriving at this conclusion.

² Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, X, pp. 87 ff., *Hirālal, Catalogue of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, p. 48.

tioned either in the fragmentary Ērāṇ pillar inscription which directly deals with Samudra Gupta, or in the inscription relating to Buddha Gupta,¹ or in the Ērāṇ small Boar statue inscription mentioned above. Since in none of these records is there the slightest reference to Svāmidatta's having been a ruler of Ērāṇ, we have to reject this assumption.

There is another royal family some rulers of which bore names that ended in *datta*. This is the ancient royal family of Punnāta which I have outlined elsewhere.² Two rulers of this family were called Nāgadatta (circa 280 A. D.) and Ravidatta (circa 400 A. D.). We could have said that Svāmidatta belonged to the Punnāta royal family, especially when we realise that after Ravidatta's time, the Punnāta House came to an end. This assumption receives some support when we observe that Ravidatta's age (circa 400) comes very near Samudra Gupta's age (A. D. 335-385).³ But two objections violate this assumption. Firstly, there is nothing to show that the Punnāta rulers, whose capital lay to the extreme south of the modern Mysore State, ever held sway over the Bellary district in which Kottūra was located. And, secondly, the manner in which the Punnāta Royal House after Ravidatta came to an end, conclusively proves that we have to seek elsewhere than in the Punnāta history for the identity of the ruler called Svāmidatta. As I have shewn in my paper on the ancient Punnāta kingdom referred to above, that principality was subverted by the Ganga king Durvinita. If Svāmidatta had been a Punnāta ruler, and Samudra Gupta had subjugated him, we would have had some reference to the ancient Punnāta kingdom in some of the records of the Gupta monarch or of his successors. Since no such reference is met with, we have to assume that Svāmidatta belonged to some other Karnāṭaka royal family.

Such an ancient family that was almost contemporaneous with Samudra Gupta was a branch of the Cālukyas, one of whose

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Ins.*, p. 18; Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, X, p. 89; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 82; *J.R.A.S.*, VII. p. 633; *ibid* XXX, p. 17, ff. *ibid* XXXI, p. 1887, note.

² Saletore, *Indian Culture*, pp. 303-317,

³ Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.

early monarchs was called Svāmīrāja. This ruler, who is said to have been victorious in eighteen battles, was killed by the Western Cālukya ruler of the main line by name king Maṅgaleśa, as is related in the undated Nērūr grant of king Maṅgaleśa.¹ Of course the ruler Svāmīrāja, who lived in the latter half of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century A. D., could never have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta. But the point to be borne in mind is that in Karnāṭaka was an ancient line of the Cālukyas, one of whose rulers was called Svāmīrāja. It is possible that when more records about this ancient line will be unearthed, we might perhaps have to take Svāmidatta, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, as one of the predecessors of Svāmīrāja, who belonged to this early branch of the Cālukya House. All that we may assert for the present is that Kottūra which Samudra Gupta conquered was essentially a Karnāṭaka centre, and that its ruler was in all likelihood a Karnāṭaka king.²

¹ Fleet, *Dy. Kan. Dts.*, pp. 347-349.

² In the history of the Gaṅgas, too, we come across names of rulers, ending in *datta*. Thus kings Gaṅgādatta, Bhagadatta, and Śrīdatta are mentioned. (Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 38). It is too premature to suggest that Svāmidatta belonged to the ancient Gaṅga House or to the Kadamba royal family which, as mentioned elsewhere, had Ucchaṅgi as one of its provincial capitals (Fleet, *Dy. Kan. Dts.*, p. 285). An unidentified Cālukya king called Parahitarāja is mentioned in a *viragal* assigned by Fleet to about the 9th century A. D. The place called Kōṭūr where this record was found, lies about 20 miles in a north-westerly direction from Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgad tāluka of the Belgaum district, Bombay Presidency. (Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, XX, p. 69 ff). Excepting this *viragal* found near the temple of Paramānanda, there is no other record of any importance discovered in this neighbourhood. This Kōṭūr is not mentioned in any record as having been a provincial or a royal seat of any line of kings.

MISCELLANEA
PURUṢĀRTHA, DAIVA AND NIYATI

BY

P. C. DIVANJI

I. *Puruṣārtha and Mātsyañyāya*

The word 'Puruṣārtha' is a compound word made up of two simple words 'Puruṣa' and 'Artha'. Thereout the former connotes a human being who is a conglomerate of an individualistic spirit, a heart, a mind and a physical body containing, besides the above, a group of five organs of knowledge, another of five of action and other subsidiary parts discharging the functions of connecting together the principal ones, supplying them with energy, etc. Thus by the very nature of his constitution man is apt to be engaged, either physically or mentally, in the pursuit of any of the four 'Arthas' (aims or objects), namely 'Dharma' (religious merit), 'Artha' (wealth in cash or kind), 'Kāma' (sensual enjoyment) and 'Mokṣa' (freedom from bondage). The two middle ones are universal and the first is common to a large majority of men, no matter what authority one looks to for guidance, but the last is the special subject of engagement of a limited number of them in all times and climes. So long as the pursuit of any of them does not result in or give cause for an apprehension of any injury to or interference with the freedom of other persons, no unpleasantness arises. This is however practically impossible because man is a social animal and prompted by self-interest and egotism he is consciously or unconsciously led to try to realise his ideals even on taking steps to brush aside others scornfully or even to exterminate them. The natural result therefore of unrestrained individual liberty is the prevalence of what is known in the Nītiśāstra as 'Mātsyañyāya, the lawless law, which prevails amongst the creatures of the fish variety and recognizes no other foundation of right except might.

2. In Book III of the *Yogavāsistha* there is an episode of a Rākṣasī named Karkasī relating to this point.¹ Her hunger not being capable of being satiated by the ordinary food, she had taken to human flesh and was therefore always in search of stray human beings who could be pounced upon. Roaming about in a lonely forest she happened to find a king and his minister who had lost their way while out hunting and decided to pounce upon them, justifying that decision by a general statement that the lotus-born (Brahmā) having created the world had made it a rule that a stupid heartless creature shall serve as food for the carnivorous ones.² But in another episode, namely that of Prahlāda, the author of the same work says that the prevalence of this law of the fish during the period, for which Prahlāda was unmindful of his royal duties towards his subjects living in Pātāla over which he ruled on the death of his father at the hands of the Nṛsiṃha incarnation of Viṣṇu, had led to a state of anarchy and that therefore Viṣṇu was prevailed upon to rouse Prahlāda from his Samādhi and advise him to attend to his duties.³ The *Mahābhārata* too narrates that such a catastrophe had befallen Northern India when King Vena, who was inimical to the principle of the division of the subjects into castes according to their professions, was killed by his subjects and that as he had left no son who could take his place, the leading Brāhmanas of the time hit upon the device of getting a son begotten on his widow by a Brāhmana by the Niyogavidhi. This son was the famous Prthu Vainya.⁴

3. These are instances of events which took place after the establishment of kingship in India. The *Yogavāsistha* also records a tradition⁵ that in early pre-historic times the hearts of all men and women were so pure that they were never prompted to transgress the Dharma based upon respect for one another's sentiments and recognition of the rights of such individual property as was necessary for leading a simple pious life in that hoary age in order that they may, according to their own light, make the best use of their births as members of the

¹ Y. V. III. 68-84.

² Op. Cit. III. 77. 22.

³ Op. Cit. V. 37. 7-17.

⁴ Mbh. VII. 65-71.

⁵ Y. V. II. 10 11-44.

that Aryan race and therefore there was no dominating political authority and no written texts of law. It also adds that when the divine sages who had been watching the course of events on the earth found that the moral standard of the people, had so deteriorated that they were dominated over by desire, anger, hatred, avarice, etc., and had, under the fits of such passions, begun to quarrel with one another, they started the institution of monarchy which kept the individuals' passions under control. It says that when further on they observed that even the kings of the different territories could not live amicably side by side but continued to fight with one another off and on, in order to extend their dominions and worldly possessions, the said sages propounded the works on Dharmaśāstra, which placed a restraint upon the vagaries of individual monarchs by casting upon them the duty to respect certain rules of municipal and international law based upon moral and spiritual principles, not only in times of peace but also in those of wars, which were thought to be unavoidable when both the parties to a dispute believed that he was in the right.¹

4. As regards the existence of separate Śāstras treating of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, the *Mahābhārata* records one tradition that there was only one Pāñcarātra Śāstra treating of all the four objects of human pursuit composed by Citra-sikhaṇḍi, i. e. the seven great Ṛṣis, Marici and others, that Svayambhū Manu was the first to compose a separate Śāstra based upon it, and that Bhṛgu and Brhaspati did so later on.² The *Manusmṛti* of the Bhārgavas records another that Brahmā had originally composed a Dharmaśāstra and taught it to Bhṛgu and that he recited it to the seven sages Marici and others.³ The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana records a third that Prajāpati had originally composed a very big work on the Trivarga, i. e., the principles of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, that thereout, first of all, Manu separated the Dharmaśāstra, then Brhaspati the Arthaśāstra and lastly Nandī, a follower of Mahādeva, the Kāmaśāstra.⁴ It appears from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya⁵ that there was a difference of opinion amongst the Vedic scholars as to

¹ Op. Cit. II. 11. 4-18.² Mbh. XII. 3. 163. 27-45.³ M. S. I, 58-60, 118-19.⁴ K. S. I. 6.⁵ K. A. S. I. 2. 1.

whether there were four independent Vidyās (sciences), namely Ānvikṣikī, Trayī, Vārtā and Daṇḍa or the last three only, or the last two only, or the last only, that Kauṭilya was of the view that they were four and that that which Vātsyāyana has recorded is the view of the Mānavas, according to which there were three independent Vidyās, namely the Trayī, Vārtā and Daṇḍa, the Ānvikṣikī, which according to Kauṭilya includes the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, being only a Trayīviśesa, i. e. to say, a special development of the Trayī, the foundation of the Dharmaśāstra. This tradition besides being a comprehensive one, is older also than that recorded by Vātsyāyana because even according to Jolly, who places the Arthaśāstra in about 300 A. D. as against Fleet and Shamasastry who place it in 300 B. C.,¹ the said work is older than that of Vātsyāyana and substantially agrees with that contained in the exposition of the Nārāyaṇīya Dharma in the *Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata*.²

5. In the concluding verse in the passage containing a resumé of the contents of the work it is said that "it also contains a description of the Maryādās (restraints) of various sorts imposed on the earth and in Svarga".³ This implies that the author of the work had thought it necessary to impose various kinds of restraint on the freedom of the individual souls to act as they liked. These restraints must naturally have percolated in the Ekadeśī Śāstras which had been based thereon. It comes to this then that while the Śāstras relating to each of the four Puruṣārthas take it for granted on the one hand that each individual soul is free to act as he likes for the realisation of his ambition, they on the other hand impose certain restrictions on his activities for the benefit of society or a portion of it.

6. Although in the present age, the old Śāstras have ceased to have binding force and an individual has comparatively more liberty to pursue his own ideals in the matters of religion and social relations, the authority of the state is there to check individual activities by enacting a *Law of the Land* in the interest of the society or the state even in those matters and in several

¹ Introduction by Jolly pp. 21, 24-29, 46-47; Shamasastry's edition-Introduction by Fleet.

² Mbh. XII. 3. 163. 26-45, ³ Op. Cit. verse 37.

other matters in which formerly states did not interfere. So after all, the position is that ever since the dawn of civilization on the earth, the freedom of the individual to act on the physical plane is to a certain extent placed under restraint or even counter-acted by some superior powers on earth, whether he does or does not approve of it or even whether he does or does not understand the reason for which the restraint may have been imposed or the counteraction resorted to. This is realised more at a time when the state in which the individual resides is at war with another state or when the ideal of an individual comes into conflict with that of another with better means at his command. This kind of obstruction to the realisation of one's aim on the physical plane is however liable to be removed if one has a very strong will, a readiness to make the necessary sacrifice and the quantity and quality of strength required for the realisation of the specific aim in view.

II. *Puruṣārtha and Daiva*

7. Now, an ordinary man can come to know of the existence of such beings only as are his equals or inferiors spiritually. That is so because his means of knowledge primarily are his five senses of knowledge by which he comes into contact with the outside world. But just as there are several classes of beings having bodies grosser than that of man, it is quite possible that there may be others having bodies subtler than his. With the help of his intellect, provided it is initially sharp or made so by the proper method, he can come to know of the existence and movements of some such, can study them and make them agreeable to his own aims. But a *posteriori* knowledge is never complete and that is the reason why the scientific theories of yesterday are exploded to-day and those of to-day are liable to be exploded to-morrow with the possible acquisition of better means of knowledge. On the other hand, the faithful in every religion believe that there are certain orders of superior and inferior beings who have no physical bodies. These purposes may as well be opposed to those of human beings as commensurate with them. In the former case, human efforts however sincere and persistent prove fruitless and the human beings concerned cannot account for the strange results. There must however be some reason why such beings

should come in the way of the fulfilment of man's desire by his own sacrifice and exertion. The Indian sages of the later Vedic age, which preceded the births of Buddha and Mahāvīra, had thought over this subject carefully and come to the conclusion that the good and bad spiritual forces, whose operation is indicated by inexplicable events in one's life, are set into motion by one's own actions done in previous births. They either help or hamper man in his pursuits. This is the famous *Law of Karma*, which forms the foundation of the religious beliefs and practices of the Buddhists and Jainas as well as the Hindus. The text-books on Dharma, Artha and Kāma recommend the adoption of several appropriate remedies for counteracting obstacles coming from unseen forces in the realisation of one's ideals falling in any of the three categories and the works on the Mokṣasāstra recommend the adoption of diverse means for securing complete freedom from the miseries, including that of the liability to frequent births and deaths, which the operation of the said law brings in its train.

8. The writers of the scientific treatises above-referred to seem to take it for granted that it is possible to remove the obstacles even though they may be arising from unseen forces. They do not, as a rule, enter into a discussion as to why it is possible to do so. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha Mahārūmāyaṇa*, which calls itself a *Mokṣopāya*, is not a work of that class. Unlike the scientific works it enters into a long discussion in Book II as to the scope for and efficacy of Puruṣārtha, the origin of Daiva and the way of its operation and inspires an optimistic spirit in the reader by proving that Daiva is capable of being supplanted, provided one has a very very strong will and persistently follows any of the numerous remedies which have been recommended therein for the realisation of one's ideal.¹ The argument advanced therein is in substance this that Daiva is nothing else but the result of your own past actions, that in the conflict between it and your Puruṣārtha, like a duel between two goats, that is bound to predominate which has a superior potentiality, that it is in your hands to establish the superiority of the latter, that a strong will and a

¹ Y. V. II. 4-9; VII a. 29, 5-11; 51. 47; 55, 31-34; 64. 9-36; 73. 7-8.

persistent effort only would enable you to do that, and that they will enable you to put up a strong fight if you keep up faith in the doctrine that the Purusa being the repository of all powers whatever is capable of achieving anything that he desires to achieve, including even the position of Prajāpati. The last point is illustrated therein by the episode of the ten sons of a Brāhmaṇa named Indu given in Book III, which is to the effect that they having wished to become Prajāpatis and resorted to the necessary means towards that end did in fact become Prajāpatis in the next Kalpa, though not either in that very life or even after several fresh births in that Kalpa.¹

III. *Puruṣārtha and Niyati*

9. The fact that the sons of Indu had to wait and persist in their effort and to submit to numerous privations till the end of the Kalpa before being the Prajāpatis at the commencement of the succeeding Kalpa introduces us to the existence of one more factor which we must take into consideration while determining the capabilities of an individual soul. That factor is what is called *Niyati* in the Paurāṇic works. That term is a noun derived from the root *yam* with *ni* meaning 'to restrain, curb, control or govern.' Its etymological meaning therefore is 'that which restrains, curbs, controls or governs something else.' Its derivative meanings are the force which keeps under control or regulates the movements of all the creatures, animate as well as inanimate, i. e. to say, 'the Inner Regulator of all creatures' or 'the fixed order of things prevailing in the universe which keeps everything within the limits pertaining to its own inherent nature.' Essentially the human soul being of the same nature as the soul of the universe, i.e. to say, Brahman as it has become manifest, is completely free and therefore capable of attaining the fulfilment of all its desires. It was because of the truth of that principle that the sons of Indu having so wished could be the lords of creatures of diverse sorts. But it was as the sons of an individual Brāhmaṇa that they had conceived the idea of being so great and the realisation of that idea meant the displacement of the existing Prajāpatis, who were far more highly developed

¹ Y. V. III. 85-88.

souls than the sons of Indu and the subversion of the order which had been fixed by Brahmā, the Creator, long before the sons of Indu conceived that idea as comparatively far more limited souls. The latter were not capable of doing any of those things. That was the reason why they had to wait and persist in their effort till the end of the Kalpa, when according to the original Sankalpa of Brahmā, the lives of the existing Prajāpatīs were to come to an end. If the object of their desire had been such as could have been achieved without coming into conflict with such higher souls, less time and less effort would have been required, as was the case with the Brāhmaṇa Vasistha and his wife who had conceived the desire to attain to the glory and dignity of a king and queen, they having been born as King Padma and his Queen Līlā¹ or with Gādhi who only wished to have an experience of the nature of Viṣṇu's Māyā, he having had it in that very life while he was bathing.²

10. Besides giving several such illustrations of the nature and power of this preponderating force the author of the *Yoga-tīṣṭha* has explained them in great details at several places in that work and explained its origin also.³ The gist of what he says in the passages cited below is that Niyāti is the order which prevails not only on this earth but also in the mid-air and in the different regions in the heavens, that it is binding on all creatures, gross and subtle, animate and inanimate, and that it was required to be established for otherwise there would have been chaos and injustice in all the three worlds. That being so it could have no existence prior to the creation of the worlds and after their destruction. But so long as the universe subsists, there is no escape from it even for Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, who are inferior gods charged with certain functions with reference to the universe, are Jīvas though of a higher order, and are in the same position as ministers in any government on earth. A wise man, instead of trying to transgress

¹ Y. V. III. 15-67. ² Op. Cit. V. 44-49.

³ Op. Cit. II. 10; III. 53. 24-49; 65. 8-20, 32; IV. 10. 24-73; 13-16; 36. 30; 46. 28; 56. 12; V. 1. 19; 6. 1-18; 24. 17-40; 39. 24-29; 61. 42-48; 75. 27-35; VII a. 20. 16-41; 21. 23-25; 37; 77. 6. 9; 88. 16; 104. 23-49; 105. 17. 43-44; VII b. 19-20.

it, tries to know its full nature and so long as his physical body lasts, acts in consonance with it without egotism, so that his acts may not create *Vāsanā* like those done for self-satisfaction and therefore with a sense of egotism. He has no difficulty in knowing its nature because it is the inherent power of God made manifest in the diverse objects as the inherent nature of each of them severally, just as the same electric power generated at a central power-house makes itself manifest in diverse forms in different kinds of lamps, fans, stoves, mills, factories, workshops, etc., situated at varying distances and levels. Such being the case there is in fact no miracle in the world, for, a miracle is an event which cannot be explained logically as an effect from a known cause and there is none which cannot be so explained. It may be that some events may appear miraculous to some people. But there are others who are better informed than them and can therefore logically account for events which they cannot. They can do so because there are certain kinds of gems, certain mystic symbols or formulas and certain rare herbs which have the efficacy of causing events, which appear to those to whom the gems, symbols or formulas and herbs are unknown, to be contrary to the fixed order of things, otherwise called the *Law of Nature*, but to those who are aware of them to be quite in consonance with that order or law. It is not by the knowledge of the absolute truth that the knowledge of these things is acquired. There are separate sciences for its acquisition. Therefore it is only when they are learnt, that one acquires the knowledge about them. And their mere knowledge even is not enough. Each science has its own method for the realisation of the truth which it inculcates. If it is properly followed one can even create such extraordinary events. The desire to do so is however a thorn in the path of self-realisation because there is no possibility of such a desire being ever satiated, and so long as it is not satiated, it acts as a hindrance in concentrating one's mind on the pure self. On this point there is an episode in the latter portion of the *Nirvāṇa-prakarana* of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, namely that of King Vipāścit,¹ the materials for which seem to have been taken from the

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa for the purpose of convincing the reader of the nature of Avidyā as explained by the sage Vasiṣṭha.

IV. Conclusion

11. It follows from the above that a human being's ambitions and activities must, in order to be successful, be confined within the limits imposed by the world-order. If even a Jīva who has risen to be a Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Rudra cannot change it, much less can a poor Jīva on whose powers there are so many limitations besides those on any of the three gods. These limitations operate only as regards the acquisition of this or that power on the physical or metaphysical plane because the ambition to be the proud possessor of the power of a god or a godling does not differ from that to be a proud emperor or a president of a republic or a prime minister of an empire or of a part of it or, for the matter of that, from that to be a high priest or a millionaire or even to be the husband of a beautiful and cultured wife. In the matter of self-knowledge and self-realisation they do not because the path for them lies in quite the opposite direction and all the kit that one is likely to stand in need of, while proceeding along it, is of such a nature that one can acquire it without coming into conflict with any other Jīva, high or low, and Niyati, the Divine or the Supreme Power will always be there to help one cross the hurdles that lie along the path, provided one has a strong will and a capacity to make the requisite sacrifices, and makes a persistent effort for the realisation of that highest ideal.

SOME FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT POETS OF KARNĀṬAKA

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

The object of this short note is to correct a few mistakes that are to be found in Mr. *Srikantha Sastri's* paper published under the above caption in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the *Annals*.¹

The first forgotten Karnāṭaka poet mentioned by Mr. Sastri is one Amarānanda. Actually he is none else than the celebrated Amaruka. The verse "*ekatrāsanasainsthiti*" is to be found on page 20 of the *Amarukaśataka* of the Nirṇayasāgara Press and has been commented on by the Paramāra ruler Arjunavarmamadeva (c. 1211-1225 A. D.)

According to Mr. Sastri, the Digambara scholar Kumudacandra was defeated by Hemacandra. But if he consults either the *Mudritakumudacandra* of Yaśaścandra, a contemporary work, or the *Prabhāvakaṇṭha*, he will find that the credit of having beaten him belongs actually to Vādi-Devastūri.

In some other cases, Mr. Sastri appears to assign to Karnāṭaka a number of poets who did not actually belong to it. But as he is himself far from sure on these points, it would perhaps be unnecessary to criticise his findings.

PIPPALIKĀ

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

In his paper on the *Bhūpālavallabha* published in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the *Annals*,² Mr. S. L. Katre identifies Pippalikā of the Ms described by him with Piplīā, a small *Jāgīr* held by Khelī Cauhāns in the Ujjain district of the Gwalior State. Actually, however, it is Piplyā, a second class *Jāgīr* in Mewar governed now, as in Samvat 1781, the year of the copying of the Ms, by Śaktāwat Rājputs who, as noted by Mr. Katre also, trace their descent from Śaktasingh, a brother of Mahārāṇā Pratāpsingh. Bāghjī Śaktāwat was one of the Sardars of Mahārāṇā Sangrāmasingh (V. 1773-1791), who appointed him as his *Vakil* at the court of Chatrapati Shāhūjī. As this Maratha monarch regarded himself as a descendant of the Mewar royal family, he, according to the *Vaṃśabhāskara*, addressed Bāghjī as *kākū* (uncle).³

¹ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. Vol. XXIII, pp. 415-423.

² *ibid* pp. 224-241.

³ *Vaṃśabhāskara*, pp. 3222-23, G. H. Ojha-History of Udaipur, II, p. 619.

KAVĪNDRAKALPALATĀ, A HINDĪ WORK BY
KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA SARASVATĪ

BY

DASHARAHTA SHARMA

Some time back I received a complimentary copy of Śrīyut P. K. Gode's learned paper on Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. With my interest in this eminent and practical ascetic aroused by this, I requested Sāhityaratna Pandit Rāmaniwās Hārīta of Śrī Anūpa Saṁskṛta Library, Bikaner, to look through the books under his charge, and was fortunate enough to learn from him of two Hindi works connected with this scholar, viz., the *Kavīndra-candrikā*, a collection of addresses in Hindi similar to those in Sanskrit, already published in the *Kavīndraçandrodaya*, and the *Kavīndra-kalpalatā*, a eulogistic work composed by Kavīndrācārya himself.

As the former of these compositions gives us the names of all the chief Benares Hindi poets of Shahjahan's time, I have contributed a note about it to the *Nāgarī Praçārīṇī Patrikā*, the premier Hindi quarterly of Benares. The other work, which forms the subject of this short Paper, begins with three Sanskrit verses of salutation to Vāṇī, Bhavānī, Śiva, and Gaṇeśa; the statement that Kavīndra is the author of the *Kalpalatikā*, and the wish that it might be read by people to the end of our *Kalpa*. Then follow the following autobiographical details about the poet:—

"He, first, lived on the bank of the river Godāvarī, from whence he migrated to Benares. He became a Saṁnyāsi before he was hardly out of his boyhood. He was a follower of the *Ātvalāyana śākhā* of the *R̥gveda* and had composed innumerable books including commentaries on the *Vedas*. He had ended the troubles of Prayāga and Kāśī and composed these verses in vernacular, though it was somewhat below his dignity to do so."

The remaining portion of the work falls into the following parts:—

- (1) *Kavittas* in honour of Shāhjahān.
- (2) *Dhṛupadas* „ „ „ „
- (3) *Viṣṇupadas* - 10 in number.
- (4) Verses devoted to *Tattvajñāna* (the problem of truth).
- (5) *Kavittas* in honour of Dārāśhāh.
- (6) „ „ „ „ Begam Sāhab.

- (7) Miscellaneous (*nānūṣayaka*) verses.
- (8) A few more verses in honour of Dārāshāh.
- (9) *Kavittas* in honour of Prince Murād.

The amount of historical information in the book is not, unfortunately, however, very great. From the first two sections, we at the most learn that Shāhjahān conquered parts of the Deccan, reduced the Bijapuris to submission, forced the ruler of Golkundā to obey his authority, carried devastation to Bokhārā and Khorāsān, captured Kandhār, and founded the magnificent city of Shāhjahānābād. The 23rd *Dhrupada* describes the Emperor's throne, most probably the celebrated *Takht-i-Taus*. The philosophic verses describe the chief Indian schools of thought, specially the Vedānta. They were probably meant for the instruction of Prince Dārā Shikoh (Dārāshāh of our Ms.) who is known to have been interested in the Upaniṣadic way of thinking. Kavindrācārya calls him *Wali Ahuḍ* (heir-apparent) and credits him with the knowledge of all the categories of the *Tarkaśāstra* (Logic and Atomism).¹

The Begam Sāhab of section 6 looks Jahānārā, for the poet prays that she might live for ever with the affection of her father (obviously Shāhjahān) and her brother (Dārā Shikoh). Murād is evidently the fourth son of Shāhjahān. His being selected for praise in preference to Shujā and Aurangzeb, respectively the second and third sons of the Emperor, perhaps indicates that he was either very generous or less disliked at the court than his two other brothers left unnoticed and unsung by Kavindrācārya.

In the miscellaneous portion, we find the name of one Sayyad Hayat Khān, probably one of Shāhjahān's commanders and a friend of Dārā. Students of Mughal History should try to trace his name either in the Badshāhnāmā or some other source for Shāhjahān's life.

As regards the composition of the book, it might, reasonably, be put somewhere between 1638 and 1657 A. D. One of the limits is fixed by the events described therein and the other by the beginning of the War of Succession and the consequent enmity between Dārā and Murād.

¹ "कौन कहावन सप्त दारथ, कौन नवद्वय, कौन चावीस गुन कौन पांच कर्म कौन सामान्य विशेष, कौन समवाय कौन कौन चतुर अभाव कौन आत्मभ्रम कौन त्रिविध काल कौन एकादश दिशा कौन सप्तरूप कौन काहिये रस द्विविध धर्म इनके सब नेद आनन"

THE SHEET ANCHOR OF INDIAN HISTORY,
A CRITICISM

BY

Dasharatha Sharma

In a paper contributed to the Silver Jubilee Volume of the *Annals*, Dr. D. S. Triveda has tried to disprove the identity of Sandrocottus of the Greek writers and Candragupta Maurya, saying that this so-called sheet anchor of Indian History is "the greatest mistake ever committed in the field of Indian chronology, literature and history".¹ These are rather hard words to use. So let us see what his arguments are for going against the considered judgment of other scholars, even though we might not be disposed to think much of the thesis of a writer who remarks that the Asokan inscriptions should, in spite of their different script, language and subject-matter, be ascribed to Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

We generally identify Xandrames or Agrammes, the ruler of Magadha at the time of Alexander's invasion, with Nanda Augrasenya, because the story of his father's rise and low birth given by Curtius agrees with that of the first Nanda in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jaina Parisisthaparvan* and the *Purāṇas*. Dr. Triveda however desires that we should regard him as Samudragupta. He believes that it is the story of Samudragupta's father Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty that is told in the following words of the Greek writer referred to above :—

"His (Agrammes') father was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his not being uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning sovereign. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered the sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the

supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king ".¹

To get at the equation, Xandrames = Samudragupta, he has, however, to make the following suppositions :—

1 Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty murdered Candraśrī, strangely enough identified here with Xandrames even though the latter has been already equated with Samudragupta. This Candraśrī is said to have been the penultimate ruler of the Āndhra dynasty.

2 Candragupta I begot of Candraśrī's widowed queen a son named Pulomā.

3 Candragupta I murdered this child of his own a few years later and put himself on the throne.

4 Candraśrī = Sundaravarman of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*.

5 Pulomā = Kalyāṇavarman of the same drama.

One has just to look at this formidable list of suppositions to have some idea of the way Dr. Triveda has manufactured history to support his pet theory. Actually, he has not a shred of reliable evidence to go by. So he just imagines certain things to have happened and regards them as equally sound arguments in his favour. Not a single *Purāṇa* says or even hints that Pulomā was an illegitimate child and his father was murdered by Candragupta I. So he just throws the *Puranas* over-board and presses the poor *Kaumudīmahotsava* into service. But where does this drama aver that Kalyāṇavarman's father was an Āndhra or was named Candraśrī? He is actually named Sundaravarman and was the ruler of Pāṭaliputra. And then what makes him equate Kalyāṇavarman with Pulomā? Does the drama say anywhere that he was, like Dr. Triveda's supposedly illegitimate Pulomā, begotten on Sundaravarman's wife by Candāsena?

We do not think that Dr. Triveda has any good replies to these queries, and will, therefore, assume, for the time being at least, that the old equation Agrammes = (Nanda) Augrasenya stands. According to Greek accounts, the man who displaced Agrammes on the throne of Pāṭaliputra was Sandrocottus. Indian

accounts give this credit of deposing Nanda (already equated with Agrammes) to Candragupta Maurya. So Candragupta Maurya and Sandrocottus must naturally be regarded as the names of one and the same person.

Equally fallacious are his following arguments against the equation, Candragupta Maurya = Sandrocottus :—

1 Candragupta Maurya cannot be the man meant by Justin's remark that "Sandrocottus was born of humble life," because Mauryas are known to have been a famous Kṣatriya clan.

2 The Greek accounts of 327 B. C. do not contain any reference to Buddhism. This shows that they were written after the Buddhist Mauryan dynasty had ended and the Bhāgavata Gupta rulers had begun ruling India.

The first of the above arguments does not mean much, because Candragupta might have actually occupied a very humble station in life before his elevation to the throne of Pāṭaliputra, even though he was the member of a well-known caste and family. High and noble parentage and wealth and influence do not always go together. As regards the absence of references to Buddhism, does not Megasthenes speak of the *Śramanas* and their deity, the *Boutta*? Dr. Trivedi's attempt to explain these away by regarding *Śramanas* as *Vānaprasthas* and *Boutta* as *Bhautikas* is, to say the least, extremely unconvincing, for, we, at least, do not know of any phonetic law by which the equation between *Boutta* and *Buddha* might be disallowed and that suggested by Dr. Trivedi permitted? Does he really regard *Bhautika* as phonetically nearer to *Boutta* than the word *Buddha* suggested by other historians? Or is it like many other of his arguments, just a supposition to bolster up an otherwise indefensible position? Further what is there to show that Buddhism had disappeared from the land of its birth as early as 327 B. C.? Does not such a supposition show the learned Doctor's ignorance, or at least supreme neglect, of the accounts of the Chinese travellers Fahien and Hieun Tsang and the numerous Buddhist donations going up to the 12th century of the Christian era?

Other arguments used by Dr. Trivedi to prove that Sandrocottus was not a Maurya are :—

1 Absence of any allusion to a foreign invasion at the time of the fall of the Nanda dynasty and reference on the other hand to a Mleccha incursion at the close of the Āndhra rule.

2 Absence of references to the *satī* system in the Arthaśāstra even though it is referred to by Megasthenes.

3 Reference by a Greek writer to the Āndhras as a very strong power.

4 Megasthenes' statement that the king, in addition to his family, must have the surname *Palibothra*, a word which the learned Doctor appears to equate either with Gupta or Āditya.

But are not these arguments too as fallacious as those already noted above? The Nanda dynasty was not ended by any Greek invasion. So why should he expect to find a reference to it in the *Purāṇas*? And as regards the Mlecchas in India at the time of the ending of the Āndhra dynasty, does he not have enough of them in the Śakas, Kushanas and Parthians etc. Further the verse that he quotes in favour of his view, without naming its source, does not say that the Mlecchas ended the Āndhra kingdom? All that it actually states is that many descendants of the Mlecchas would be invading India in the time of the Āndhras, and this we know to be a fact well attested to by history. The Śakas reached India in this period and so did some other foreign races also. So why should Dr. Trivedi suppose that the forces referred to are those of Alexander? Perhaps he has to do so because of his supposition that the Āndhra dynasty ended in 327 B. C., even though such a hypothesis would be against the well attested contemporariety of a Sātakarṇi ruler with Rudradāman of the Girnar inscription (Saka year 72 = 150 A. D.) and our knowledge from Chinese and other sources that the Sakas reached India much later than 327 B. C.¹

Nor does the absence of any reference to the *satī* system prove that the Greeks did not reach India in the Mauryan Period, because not only is silence not a good basis for basing sound

¹ In or about 165 B. C. the Yuechi were defeated and expelled from their country by Hiung-nū. The Yuechi in their turn attacked the Sakas in the plains of the Syr Darya and compelled them to move southwards and enter Indian territories. The date of this event would naturally be not earlier than 150 B. C.

theories but also because we find it referred to in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* too, the composition of all of which should according to a Pandita like Dr. Triveda, be referred to a pre-Greek period. One has just to read the discussions between Mādri and Kuntī, and these widowed queens and the *ṛsis* to see that *anumaraṇa* was a well-established Aryan custom of the Period and is actually pre-Mauryan even though we might not find any reference to it in the *Arthaśāstra*.¹

Dr. Triveda regards the mention of Āndhras too as a strong power by the Greeks as a point in his favour. Actually, however, it is something against him. From his point of view there should not be any Āndhra power at all after 327 B. C., the year in which their rule is, according to Dr. Triveda, believed to have ended. Nevertheless if he finds a strong Āndhra power after 327 B. C., should it not suggest to him that his hypothesis is radically wrong somewhere and needs a thorough over-hauling?

Equally fallacious is his argument from the statement of Megasthenes that the king in addition to his family name should have the surname *Palibothra*. This word is known to be the equivalent of Pāṭaliputra from the account of Megasthenes himself. So all that it possibly means, (though I should not be dogmatic on the point), is that the Mauryan rulers were, known also as *Pāṭaliputriyas* after their capital city. It is perhaps better to explain it in this manner than to equate it with Gupta or Āditya, the two words proposed by Dr. Triveda.

To sum up, we might say that Dr. Triveda has, throughout his paper, tried to disprove the equation Sandrocottus=Candragupta Maurya by putting forward arguments to prove that the Greeks could not have reached India in the Mauryan Period. If his reasoning be regarded as valid, we should naturally be

¹ Kuntī-

*Ahaṁ jyeṣṭhā dharmapatnī jyeṣṭhān dharmaphalaṁ mama
avaśyambhāvino bhāvān mā mā Mādri nivartaya* || 63 ||

Vaiśampāyana-

Rṣayastān samāśvāṣya

ūcuḥ Kuntīm ca Mādrīm ca

*bhartrānumaraṇaṁ sārthaṁ phalavannātra saṁśayaḥ
yuvābhyāṁ duṣkaraṁ caitat vadanti dvijapuṅgavāḥ* || 83 ||

Ādiparva, Chapter CXV (P. P. S. Sāstri's edition).

obliged to equate Sandrocottus of their accounts not with Candragupta Maurya but some other Candragupta, even with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, if it might be proved at the same time that the Gupta dynasty began ruling in 327 B. C. Dr. Triveda finds the well-established equation, Agrammes = Augrasenya (Nanda). One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of his new hypothesis. So he attacks that too with all the force he can, equating Xandrames or Agrammes with Samudragupta, the second ruler of the Gupta dynasty. We, however, regard Dr. Triveda's attempt at dislodging this old sheet anchor of Indian History, the equation Sandrocottus = Candragupta Maurya, a failure because, as shown above:-

1 He cannot disprove the equation Agrammes = Augrasenya Nanda without getting involved into a number of palpably absurd suppositions.

2 None of his arguments can put Alexander's invasion after the Mauryan Period.

3 His view that the Andhra dynasty ended in 327 B. C. goes against the well-known fact of their rivalry with the Śakas who are known to have entered India not earlier than 150 B. C. or so.

Here we might further add that coins, inscriptions, as well as literary sources¹ prove that the Gupta dynasty was founded on the ruins of the Saka and Kushana empires, both of which naturally flourished after 150 B. C., the earliest year proposed for the entry of the Sakas into India.² Dr. Triveda's attempt to make Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty a contemporary of Alexander appears rather surprising after so many years of patient Indian research, though it is certainly no impossible feat for one who can ascribe the Asokan inscriptions to Candragupta II. Dr. Triveda accuses other historians of "working under preconception and trying to modify or alter the readings to suit their identification." But might not the same charge be levelled against him with equal or even greater justification?

¹ Of literary sources, Dr. Triveda might be referred to the *Purāṇas*.

² See note 3.

REVIEWS

**MARATHA HISTORY (Re-examined) 1295-1707—by Prof.
S. R. Sharma, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona.**

Prof. S. R. Sharma, the author of the popular volumes on Mughal History, has now brought out the first volume of his Maratha History. As the title indicates the principal aim of the author is a re-examination of the history of the Maratha nation. In spite of the histories of Sprengel and Scott Waring written before him and that of Kincaid and Parasnis after him, the history of the Marathas by the celebrated Grant Duff has not been replaced as yet.

The first intelligent criticism of Grant Duff's history came from a young Deccan Collegian, the late Mr. N. J. Kirtane. Since, then a steadily growing movement is at work to ransack old document and to study, edit and publish them. The great Rajwade has made his name immortal in this field. His conceptions of history and historiography were very large and comprehensive. History to him was not merely the story of the political achievements of the people but must deal with both aspects—the material and moral aspects, including, the economic, the literary, and cultural, the military, and the religious. Since this lead from Rajwade, a number of scholars and associations have engaged themselves successfully in unearthing a large mass of original material bearing on the life and achievements of the Maratha country and its peoples. This work of research is still going on apace but those engaged in it have hardly shown any inclination to produce any histories. Fortunately, however, Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai undertook some fifty years ago, to devote his whole life to the writing of a new history of the Marathas in the Marathi language and his Riyasat bears testimony to his great industry and devotion. An English version of the Riyasat is, it is learnt, under preparation.

The chief aim of Rao Bahadur Sardesai is to supply a reliable narrative of the political history of the Marathas. He has, therefore, naturally entered into details of all important events occur-

ing in Maratha history. He has not applied himself more intently to the task of interpreting Maratha history, so far. Besides, this Riyasat has been written in the Marathi language. Hence, for those who do not understand the Marathi language there is no book which is based on a careful study of all the extant sources and materials. Prof. S. R. Sharma aspires to do this much-needed service to students of history. "I have" he says "looked at the pattern as a whole without inspecting the parts too closely" and in doing so "I have tried to be artistic without being unscientific, sympathetic without being uncritical and simple without being unhistorical".

This is just the first volume of Prof. Sharma's reexamination of Maratha history. The whole picture is not yet complete and we should not therefore be justified in expressing our opinion fully and finally till we have the finished product before us. As it is in the first part the author has reviewed the course of the history of the Marathas since the fall of Devagiri till the reassertion of Maratha power at the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, a period covering well-nigh four centuries.

This is indeed by far the most glorious and glowing period of the history of the Marhattas. The ancient Maratha dynasty of the Yadavas of Devgiri was superseded first by the Khiljis, followed by the Tughlaks and its place was occupied by the Bahmani dynasty, which after a career of about a century and half, was split up into the Panchsahis or five independent states. It was during the latter period that the Marathas, vanquished at Devgiri, once more re-established their supremacy. This last phenomenon was the Maratha Empire, which fell a prey to the power of the British.

The author has divided his book into ten chapters. The titles thereof will at once show that the author has painted a full picture of the birth, growth and achievement of the Maratha nation. He has attempted to fit the parts into the whole and in their proper places. He wields a powerful pen and shows himself to be a consummate artist who combines skill with proportion.

In the first chapter he depicts the Back-ground of his story. The Marathas of Shivaji and Bajirao are better known than their ancient progenitors, the Marathas of the Yadava period. The

Yādava Empire of the pre-Muslim days was no doubt a Maratha Empire. Hence all historians of Maharashtra have necessarily referred to it. Grant Duff and Kincaid speak of the Devgiri Yadavas. But it was reserved for the genius of Ranade to understand its significance better than others. Prof. Sharma has therefore rightly devoted his opening chapter to the destruction of the Yadava Kingdom by the Khiljis of Delhi. In fact the chapter entitled 'the Back-ground' is an illuminating attempt to explain the downfall of the Yadava power. Unfortunately Prof. Sharma had to rely mainly on Muhammadan sources, as very few non-muslim sources have yet been discovered. The reasons commonly attributed to the sudden collapse of Raja Ramdeo Rao of Devgiri are absolutely unconvincing! How could a wealthy kingdom be crippled in a single battle! One battle of Devgiri or one battle of Rakshastagadi could never afford a rational explanation of the destruction of vast and wealthy kingdoms. It often constitutes the best visible symbol of a long series of causes working in the past. The true explanation, therefore, must be sought for somewhat deeper by peeping into the social, economic and cultural aspects, which condition the whole life of a people and go to shape its character. Perhaps, a minute and patient analysis of the literary evidence available of the Yadava period may go to help us towards supplying a solution. This much-needed research has not yet been carried out. In fact, our historians have not directed their attention towards it seriously as yet. The Hindus collapsed miserably before the onslaught of the Muhammadans, both in the north and south. Could we not find a satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon in the general organisation and make up of the Hindu society? After thus assessing this factor or general cause we may take into consideration any particular causes. Granted that Raja Ramdeo was incapable and inefficient, why should Raghu, Harpaldev, Shankardeo and the two 'tigresses' have failed at the cost of their lives? In spite of sects and in spite of castes, the Hindu society, has outlived these thousands of years. It has often had to bend but it has never broken completely. We must study its history both as that of a whole as well as also of its constituent limbs or parts. The

Yadava period must be restudied in detail in this way. However, Prof. Sharma deserves credit for putting in one compass the salient points concerning the fall of the Yadavas and supplying such explanation and interpretation as could be worked out with the limited sources available. Prof. Sharma touches the subject again in the last chapter also.

After depicting 'The Back-ground' Prof. Sharma details the succeeding period as that of Tutelage. During this period the Marathas had to go through a long period of discipline both in the arts of peace and war. The civil department of Government remained in their hands and their help became necessary in the military campaigns of the Muhammadans. The common traditions of Hasan Gangu being originally the slave of a Brahmin, called Gangu, perhaps our Gangaraspant as a fragmentary bakhar alluded to by Rajawade in the Proceedings of the B. I. S. Mandal says, is not referred to by Prof. Sharma. The occasional references in old traditional accounts of many a Maratha Kshatriya family to Kālā (black) Khoja and Gorā (white) Khoja may well be interpreted in terms of the conflict between the Deshi and Pardeshi parties at the Muhammadan courts of the Deccan.

During the period of tutelage, not only the pen and the sword but the soul of the Maratha people was revived through the rise of the saints. What is known as the Pandharpur movement no doubt went a great way in recreating faith and recapturing the lost soul of the people. A new and healthy turn was given to this noblest of democracies, the democracy of the Bhaktas (W. B. Patwardhan) by the dynamic personality of Ramdas who preached his philosophy of action and spread a net work of his disciples, twelve hundred in number, throughout the land. The 'Maharashtra Dharma' was not merely a religious phase. It had a deeper social and political meaning and its chief exponent was Saint Ramdās. This Maharashtra Dharma was not the direct outcome of the Pandharpur movement. These cultural and social forces, strengthened by the assertive efforts of the Dafles, the Nimbalkars, the Shirkes, the Bhosales, the Manes and numerous others, especially in the mountain fastnesses of the Maval territories, eventually led to the rise of a mighty national power—the Maratha Swarajya. All this makes one of the most fascinating and inspiring stories in the history of India, perhaps

of the world and Prof. Sharma has drawn a vivid picture of the same with necessary warmth and vigour.

The part played by Shahaji, the celebrated father of Shivaji, has been clearly brought out by the writer as the work of a great Pioneer of Maratha Swarajya. However, Prof. Sharma would have done well to have emphasised that the Danpatra of Sambhaji alludes to Shahaji as the defender of Haindava (Hindu) Dharma and that he had appointed separate officers like the Peshwa, Mujumdar for the twelve year old son, Shivaji, whom he sent away to his Poona jagir, out of which some thirty six villages were given as Mokasa to the latter. The significant seal of Shivaji found to have been used at least as early as 1645 A. D. reveals in unmistakable terms the noble aims and the firm faith and hope of the militant Maratha Swarajya party of the period. It is a matter for satisfaction for us that Prof. Sharma has boldly come forward to reaffirm the thesis of that great seer Ranade in this book and enlarge and expand it with such corrections, additions and modifications as became necessary on account of the very large amount of new sources that have accumulated during the period of nearly half a century since then.

Prof. Sharma in his later chapters treats of the rise of Shivaji and the foundation of Swarajya, the unique declaration of an independent sovereign Hindu Chhatrapati, the crisis that overtook the newly founded Swarajya after the death of Shivaji, the wonderful and stout defence that the newly created Maratha nation offered to the haughty and indomitable Alamgir, who was exhausted and at last expired in the attempt, and the final reassertion of the Maratha Power in Maharashtra! In the course of his argument Prof. Sharma had naturally to challenge the conclusions and in some places even the facts, of older veterans but he has not faltered in this work and given a good account of his mettle.

The last chapter of Prof. Sharma's review of Maratha History sums up 'the Achievement' of the Marathas. He characterises the Maratha resorgiment as a unique phenomenon in Indian History. "They had created a New State and a New order superior to any that had hitherto existed in Hindu India". This view may be accepted as correct so far as we limit ourselves to

Hindu India since the rise of the Muslims in this continent. "The triumph of the Marathas" during this period "was the triumph of a people, a nation rather than that of a few men of genius" "Neither the Rajputs nor the Sikhs" nor even the Vijayanagar Empire, "could ever rise to the great eminence reached by the Marathas;" "and the hidden sources" of the Maratha Power "lay in the character of the people and their country". This is indeed a warm, yet just tribute that the author pays to this masterful people.

"A man of superb genius" Shivaji, the deliverer of the enslaved Marathas, must, in fact, be considered "a creature of Maharashtra". "Sivaji" the author further says "for us is neither saint nor sinner but just human, impelled by human motives, to achieve human ends in a human world" (p. 126). It is difficult to reconcile this view of the author with an earlier statement of his on pp. 113 & 114 where he speaks of 'Destiny' and 'Divinity' and avers: "If Hindu civilisation was to survive, a new avatār was needed. He appeared in the person of Sivaji". We believe the former view to be more sound, which attributes more to the people and their character than to individuals, however great, or may be-avatārs.

We agree with the dictum of the author when he says; "when the authenticity of each fact is ascertained and established beyond doubt or the evidence is verified the verdict may not be shirked" (p. 125). We are, therefore, entitled to ask him whether the treaty between Sivaji and his younger brother Vyankoji quoted by the author pp. 197-199 is a genuine fact or merely an inference. The Shiv Digvijaya Bakhar may contain some very valuable truths yet we can not ascribe to the letters and documents mentioned therein the same status of validity and treat them on a par with original documents, whose reliability could be severely tested and established beyond the shadow of doubt. None of the letters quoted in the Shiv Digvijaya appear to be genuine. The so called treaty referred to by our author is obviously a product of the fertile imagination of the chronicler who is seen to be fond of the display of his knowledge! To quote such an imaginary docu-

ment, not only this, but to ascribe to it the status of 'the Political Testament' of Sivaji is going too far indeed !

On page 181 our author similarly refers to another document which "if authentic" should in his opinion "be considered as the Magna Carta of Maratha Swarajya." On page 273 he refers to it again as 'the great charter of civil rights.' He quotes the document on page 321. The document has been published by Mr. K. S. Thackerey. But he gives no reference to its origin. On a careful examination and close comparison with genuine documents of Shivaji in original it would not take us long to convince ourselves that the document in question is not genuine. The language used is unlike the language used in the other genuine documents of Shivaji. Compare for instance such words occurring in the document as हिंदुमहाराष्ट्रान् - गृहस्थान् - ज्ञातीवाले or परंतु लिहिण्याचे कारण की &c. The Govt. is here referred to as सरकार which is not found in any official letters of Sivaji. Then the ending मर्मादेयं is not enclosed in the usual form. Shivaji is referred to as श्री राजा सिवाजी छत्रपती the correct way being श्री राजा सिव छत्रपती. The seal at the top as printed in the document under examination here gives four lines instead of the five found in the genuine seals of Sivaji. Besides, the date as given in the document, corresponds to 28th Jan. 1677. Now Sarkar states that Sivaji started on his long term Carnatak campaign at the *beginning* of Jan. 1677, (Sarkar's Sivaji p. 289). But we are inclined to believe that Sivaji started on this campaign *earlier* when Mr. Muloverer arrived 'from Raigry' as reported in a letter dated 2nd Oct. 1676 and supported by Vatanpatra p. 47. Sivaji had planned a long absence and hence if at all he had wished to issue a proclamation of civil rights he should have done so not at the *end* of Jan. 1677, when he was already on the march but much earlier. Enough has thus been said, we believe, to prove how the document can not be genuine. Further, the document merely confirms the different communities in the proper enjoyment of their religious practices and customs in spite of where they might have been suppressed. It is too much to describe it as Magna Carta or a proclamation of civil rights.

We are fully conscious of the fact that such issues and discussions as we have raised above can not be allowed to detain

us longer here. And yet we feel it quite necessary to invite the attention of scholars both in Maharashtra and outside to study very closely and at first hand the voluminous mass of documents, literary, political, economic, judicial and others, before they build up their conclusions and present the history of the Marathas. We will not otherwise ever succeed in doing proper justice to the subject. This is no light task we know. The scattered materials have not yet been systematically and scientifically analysed and studied in a thorough manner. That this work is beyond the scope of an individual, however gifted, needs no proving. We, however, regret to notice that scholars who are unable to read the Marathi documents in the Modi script have had the temerity to declare to a world, unfortunately ignorant of the language and script, that they have thoroughly studied the Marathi materials and have passed categorical opinions going to the length of poolpoohing the 'discoveries' and 'unearthing' of documents constantly going ahead in Maharashtra and declaring that those discoveries contain 'forgeries'. We would here warn Indian scholars against such thorough and ignorant condemnation of documents by men who are themselves unable to read even the Modi Script and are consequently not competent to pass such excathedra judgments. We feel confident that in the end the value and authenticity of the large mass of Marathi materials would be thoroughly proved and accepted. In the end, we welcome scholars like Prof. Sharma and their efforts to elucidate the history of the Marathas.

D. V. Potdar

ICONOGRAPHY OF ŚRĪ VIDYĀRNAVATĀNTRA By
 Prof. S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri, M.A., (copies can be had of
 R. Harirao, Curator Mythic Society, Cenotaph Road,
 Bangalore City), pp. 46. Price Re. 1 or 2 Shillings.

In spite of the few Volumes on Indian Iconography containing both textual and critical matter, the need for further studies especially of the critical variety incorporating the Iconographical data collected from numerous sources still remains. In this connection the Iconographic data contained in the numerous Tāntric works both published and unpublished is extremely valuable. The tāntric worship necessarily presupposes description of images of Gods and Goddesses and consequently our Tāntric texts which describe these Gods and Goddesses with minute details are a rich mine of information bearing on the history and development of Indian Iconography. We are therefore glad to find Prof. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri analysing the *Vidyārnavatantra* published by the Govt. of Kashmir (1932-1937) and presenting its iconographic data in a clear-cut form for the benefit of the students of Indian Iconography. His method is worth being followed by other scholars with regard to numerous other Tāntric texts so that in course of time it may be possible for subsequent scholars to compile a Dictionary of Indian Iconography in which the Iconography of every image known to Indian Literature, whether Jain, Buddhist or Brahmanical, is portrayed in brief. In this manner alone the Science of Indian Iconography can be given a proper historical perspective worth the name. The contribution of Indian Iconography to Indian art in general can only be exactly ascertained on the strength of scientifically collected material recorded in the form of a Dictionary. In his present brochure Prof. Śāstri has given us the Iconographic material under the groups of images named severally as the *Śākta*, *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Saura*, *Kaumāra*, *Gāṇapatya* etc. The essential characteristics of these groups have also been pointed out by him. This grouping will be found useful not only by the students of Indian Iconography but also by the students of Hindu religion who care to know its iconographic aspect.

According to Prof. Śāstri, the present work was composed between A. D. 1520 and 1720, a period when the tantras appear

to have been radiating their iconographic lustre as will be seen from the present analysis of the *Vidyārṇava Tantra*. If we analyse some of the celebrated Tantras composed during a definite period of history, we shall get a very clear idea of the development of Indian Iconography of that period. We trust therefore that Prof. Śāstri himself will analyse at least a few major tantras pertaining to the different periods of history so as to make his study representative of the entire field of Indian Iconography.

The regional aspect of Indian Iconography which still remains shrouded in mystery also deserves our special attention in view of the present interest of the Indian public in the history of different regions of India in all its aspects.

We, therefore, congratulate Prof. Śāstri on his present critical study which is as pains-taking and scholarly as his previous studies in other fields of Indology.

P. K. Gode

SAṄGĪTA RATNĀKARA Translation by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja,
(Adyar Library Series).

In the past, the Ānandāśram-edition of the Saṅgīta Ratnākara was the only well-known edition which contained the full text and also the commentary of Kallinath. The present edition contains the commentary of Simhabhūpāla in addition to the text and the commentary of Kallinath. Further, the Adyar series has done a good service to the public in simultaneously issuing an English translation of both the text and the two commentaries, along with critical notes explaining the subtle terms and ideas involved, from the pen of no less a person than Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

Only a working knowledge of Sanskrit is not enough to understand the exact meaning of the text and to interpret it in the terms of modern musical practices. One and the same Sanskrit term is used often in different contexts, 'Mandra and Tara' as explained by Dr. Raja, is an instance in view. It was a pit-fall to many in the past, and it could now be avoided, with the help of an authoritative version of the text like the present one.

In translating the text, the needs of those who want to follow the Sanskrit text in its original form and syntax are given a preference to those of a casually interested reader. Such a procedure needs verbal fidelity and a close adherence to the Sanskrit syntax and the retention of the original technical terms, instead of using their corresponding English synonyms. Over and above the translation, Dr. Raja has elucidated many intricate points that crop up from time to time, by appending his own comments.

There are a few misprints which can be easily corrected by a habitual reader ; one or two however need special correction. Thus in the last line of verse 48 on page 60 of the translation, the word *interval* should have been avoided as it is a technical term in the music of today and conveys the idea of a ' ratio ' and not of the śruti-distance. Under verse 50 page 60, ' Ni and Dha have two śrutis ' ; here it is Ga and not Dha which has two śrutis. Similarly lines 11 and 12 on page 60 should read ' thus it is that Ri and Dha on one side, with Ga and Ni respectively on the other, are discordant. The present sentence leaves ground for misapprehension.

Similarly, Sanskrit terms should be printed in one and the same way, either with capitals or with small letters and the sequence of the original terms and their English synonyms should not be changed on and off, at least in one and the same sentence.

Scholars of Indian music distinctly stand to gain from such a translation as it will enable them to interpret *correctly* the meaning and significance of many terms and passages, which in the past have suffered misrepresentation and distortion at the hands of many interpreters,—interpreters who knew music but not enough Sanskrit and vice versa.

In the end, I would suggest that when the whole of the translation is issued it should be supplemented by a key to the identification of the Rāgas as given in the Ratnākara, with the Rāgas of to-day. If a clue to such a key remains undiscovered I am afraid, the music of the Ratnākara will remain a sealed book as ever.

G. H. R.

BHĀRATĪYA MĀNASĀŚĀSTRA-Ī ARIBHĀṢĀ : *Indian Psychological Terminology*, by Professor D. D. Vadekar ; pages 402 : Bombay Book Depot, Bombay ; price Rs. 10.

It is very encouraging indeed to find that educationists in this country are now realising that the best medium of imparting education—even higher education—is the student's own language. Vigorous efforts are therefore being made, at several centres of learning, to introduce Indian languages as media of instruction. Apart from the unquestioned educational value of such a course, it has a high moral value as well—particularly in a country, like India, which has laboured long under foreign domination. A century of education through the medium of English has created among generations of Indian students an inferiority complex with regard to their own languages and consequently with regard to their past culture and future potentialities. Every effort therefore in the direction of facilitating the imparting of education—particularly higher scientific and technical education—through the medium of Indian languages is to be welcomed whole-heartedly. *Indian Psychological Terminology* by Prof. D. D. Vadekar is one such brilliant effort. On account of the multiplicity of principal languages current in this vast country, the problem of a common medium in all centres of learning has become very much complicated. Prof. Vadekar is quite conscious of this. He has therefore tried to evolve, on scientific lines, "Plan and Principles," which would make his terminology suitable for "a basic, common and interprovincial use in the exposition of psychological subjects in all modern Indian languages of established Sanskritic affinities and associations". Prof. Vadekar's work is not an ordinary dictionary. He gives the exact scientific connotation of a technical term and not merely its literal rendering in Indian language. For one single term he has suggested several equivalents, thus allowing a wide scope for selection. Two main requisites of a New Terminology are that it has to be significant—*anvartthaka*—and that it has to be simple and easy of currency. Prof. Vadekar's work is quite creditable from this point of view. He has tried to give equivalents which are not

unnecessarily pedantic. In most cases they are quite felicitous. But the real test of such terminology lies in its actual use in scientific works written in Indian languages. It is to be earnestly hoped that scholars will utilise Prof. Vadekar's valuable terminology in large measure, will enrich the scientific literature of India and will thus make it accessible to a larger public.

Prof. Vadekar has planned a whole *Indian Philosophical Terminology*, the present *Psychological* work being its first part. He is rendering great service to Philosophy and Indian Languages alike through his work, and deserves the best thanks of all students and teachers of both the subjects.

—R. N. D.

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[PARTS III-IV

ANCIENT HISTORIC SITES OF BENGAL

BY

B. C. LAW

Bengal contains many ancient historic sites and it is not possible to give a detailed account of them in the following pages. I shall therefore deal with some of them as briefly as possible. *Viṣṇupura*: Viṣṇupura is in the Bankura District in west Bengal. It is a centre of music culture. For many centuries it had been the capital of the Malla rājās who gave the name of Mallabhūmi or the land of wrestlers to the country ruled by them. The Mallabhūmi comprised the whole of the modern district of Bankura and parts of the adjoining districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Manbhum and Singbhum. Ādi Malla was the first king who was noted for his great skill in wrestling and archery. Raghunātha who was the founder of the Malla dynasty of Viṣṇupura was born while his parents were on their way to the sacred temple of Jagannātha at Puri. He defeated the neighbouring chiefs of Pradyumnapura (in the Joypore Police Station) which he made as his seat of government. The royal ensign of the rulers of Mallabhūmi bore the device of a serpent's hood because Raghunātha is said, according to tradition, to have been shaded by two huge cobras with their hoods spread over his head. The cobra's hood carved in stone is even now worshipped in that place under the name of Daṇḍeśvarī. The Hindu rājās of Viṣṇupura were the rulers of a great portion of western Bengal long before the Mahommedan conquest by Bukhtiar Khiljī.

Jagat Malla, a ruler of Viṣṇupura, removed the capital from Pradyumnapura to Viṣṇupura. The Rājās of Viṣṇupura were Śiva¹-worshippers. The temple dedicated to Mallesvara Mahādeva which is considered to be the oldest shrine, is still found there. The Rājās afterwards became the ardent worshippers of Mr̥mayī (an aspect of śakti²) whose temple still stands there. The worship of Dharma³ which Ramāi Paṇḍit⁴ introduced, became very popular at Viṣṇupura. The celebrated Bengali Mathematician Śubhankara Rāya lived under the Malla kings who were great patrons of learning.

The city of Viṣṇupura is named after the god Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu was the deity of the royal house at the time of Bīr Hāmīr in the 16th century A. D. who was a great supporter of Vaiṣṇavism. The large stone-gateway of Viṣṇupura fort and the great cannon call *Dalmardan* may be attributed to him. Many Vaiṣṇava manuscripts were received by him and in quest of them, Śrīnivāsācārya came to Viṣṇupura.

The magnificent temple of Rāmañca was built by Bīr Hāmīr. Among the later shrines, mention may be made of the following :

Temples of Śyāma Rāi, Kālācānd, Murali Mohan, Madan Gopāl, Madan Mohan, Rādhā Śyām, Lāljeu and Jodbāṅlā.

The temples of Viṣṇupura are mostly square buildings with a curved roof having a small tower in the centre. Some of them have towers in four corners of the roof. The temple is called *Pañcaratna*, i. e., five towered or *Nava ratna* or nine towered. The Śyāma Rāi temple is one of the oldest temples of the *Pañcaratna* type in Bengal. Some of the temples at Viṣṇupura contain scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* on their walls.

¹ Śiva is the third god of the Hindu Triad, the other two being Brahmā the Creator and Viṣṇu, the preserver, the destroying and reproducing deity (creator, destroyer and regenerator).

² Active power of a deity.

³ Dharmadeva, God of Justice.

⁴ Author of the *Śūnya Purāṇa* and *Śūnya pūjāpaddhati*. He was an exponent of Dharma cult in Bengal. Some hold that doggerel verses were composed soon after the Mahammedan conquest. He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla II who reigned in Gauḍa at the beginning of the 11th century A. D.

Susunia hill: Another site of historic importance in the district of Bankura is the village of Pokhrana or Puṣkarapa on the Dāmodar river, about 25 miles east of the Susunia hill, which was the seat of administration of a ruler named Candravarman as far as can be gathered from an inscription on the hill.

Kenduli: It is a village also called Kendva Billa or Jaya-deva Kenduli in the Bolpur thana of the Suri sub-division in the Birbhum district. It is situated on the north bank of the river Ajay, a few miles west of Ilambazar and about 22 miles south of Suri. It is famous as the birth place of the great Sanskrit poet Jayadeva who flourished in the 12th century A. D. He composed the well-known *Gita Govinda*, a Sanskrit lyrical poem, in praise of Rādhā & Kṛṣṇa. The body of Jayadeva was buried and not burnt after his death and his tomb still stands at Kenduli. In the middle of January, a fair is held every year in his honour.

Tāmralipti (Tamluk): Tāmralipti (Tamluk) is situated in the district of Midnapore. Tāmralipti or Damalīpti is called a city of Suhma according to the *Daśakumāracarita* (Chap. V). The Epics, Purāṇas and Buddhist works mention this town. It was a great maritime port and an emporium of commerce from the 4th century B. C. to the 12th century A. D. The temple of Bārga-Bhīmā mentioned in the *Brahmapurāṇa* which was an ancient vihāra (monastery) now exists in the town. The temple of Binduvāsini was situated at Tāmralipti which was visited by the Chinese pilgrims Fā-Hien in the 5th century A. D. and Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. D. This temple has been mentioned by Daṇḍi in his *Daśakumāracarita*, who flourished in the 6th century A. D. Hiuen Tsang saw a *stūpa* (dagoba) of Aśoka near this town. I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, resided here in the Barāha monastery. The present temple of Hari is said to have been built some 500 years after the destruction of the ancient temple of Binduvāsini by the action of a river (Rūpanārāyaṇa).

Navadvīpa: The present railway station of Navadvīpaghāṭ is 8 miles from the town of Kṛṣṇanagar in district of Nadia. To the west of this place, on the other side of the Ganges, stands the town of Navadvīpa, which is a sacred place of

the Vaiṣṇavas.¹ It is so called because it is a combination of nine islands. It is the birth place of Caitanya who was born here in 1485. He preached the doctrine of *universal love* (love to all beings). Buddha also preached it. So did Mahāvīra—love, love towards the suffering and distressed world, love towards the happy and love towards the criminals. At the age of 24, Caitanyadeva, the great founder of new Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, left Navadvīpa and lived the life of a hermit. Ballālasena is said to have built a palace here and the ruins of this palace, known as Ballāladhipi (400 ft. long and about 30 ft. high) are found on the eastern coast of the Ganges, half a mile to the north of the present Māyāpura, as some portions of this Dhipi on the west side have been washed away by the Ganges. A court of justice was established there by Aśokasena, grandson of Lakṣmanasena and great-grandson of Ballālasena. At one time it was a great centre of Sanskrit learning and the home of many learned men, e. g., Bāsudeva Sārvabhauma, (a well-known logician), Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (an exponent of new logic in Bengal), Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya (the founder of the Dāya-bhāga School of Hindu Law), and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamabāgiś (a tantric scholar). Four learned men e. g., Halāyudha, Paśupati, Śūlapāṇi and Udayanācārya (philosopher) flourished during the time of Lakṣmanasena. It is still a sacred place to the Hindus.

Śāntipura : In the district of Nadia stands Śāntipura on the Ganges. It is the abode of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava reformer Advaitācārya, a contemporary and admirer of Śrī Caitanyadeva, an incarnation of Śiva and Viṣṇu. It contains the temples of Madanagopāla, Madanamohana, Kālācānd, Śyāmacānd, etc. Here the celebrated teacher Advaita used to practise penances.

About four miles from Śāntipura stands the present village of *Phuliya* which is nine miles from Rānāghaṭ and fifty-four miles from Calcutta. It is the birth place of the celebrated Bengali poet Kṛttivāsa, the author of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*. The well-

¹ A sect in Bengal founded by Caitanya who was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. His chief doctrine is the duty of *bhakti* or love.

known Muslim follower of Caitanyadeva, Yavana Haridāsa, spent his days here in religious practices. To quote Kṛttivāsa—

“ *Grāmaratna Phuliyā jagate bākhāni*
Dakṣiṇe paścime vahe Gaṅgātaraṅgiṇi ”

It was prosperous at the time of Kṛttivāsa when the Ganges flowed on its south and west. It reminds one of the famous lines written on the memorial pillar raised at the site.

Hethā dvijottama!

ādi Kavi Bāṅgōlar

bhāṣū Rāmāyaṇakār

Kṛttivāsa labhila janam !

Surabhita sukavitve

Phuliyār puṇyatīrthe

He pathik, sambhrame praṇama !!

The sum and substance of these lines is this: “ Oh traveller ! respectfully bow down before this sacred place of Phuliyā where was born the composer of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, who was the best of the Brahmans and the foremost of the poets.

Plassey: The Palasi Railway Station in the district of Nadia is 93 miles from Calcutta. The famous battle-field of Plassey is about 2 miles to the west of the Railway Station. The name of this place is derived from the Palāśa trees (*Butea Frondosa*) which were plenty there. The British under Lord Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daula, the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal in the mango-grove of the historic battle-field on the 23rd June 1757 A. D. This battle has been ably described in verses in the Bengali language in the famous book of Nabin Chandra Sen, *Palāśir Yuddha*. About 4 or 5 miles from Palāśi, we find the tomb of Mir Madan,¹ the General of Siraj-ud-daula.

Adi-Saptagrāma: The remains of ancient Saptagrāma are found near the present railway station called Ādi-Saptagrāma, about 27 miles from Calcutta. Saptagrāma was an important city and a port. It is so called because the seven sons of king Priya-vrata became sages after practising penances there. This place is

¹ The poet describes his death thus:

chuṭila ekṭi gōlā raktima varaṇ
viṣam lāgila pāye sei sāmghātik ghāye
bhūṭale haila Mīr Madan patan !

He fell in the battlefield after having received a serious wound in his leg.

frequently mentioned in the mediaeval Bengali texts, e. g. *Caṇḍimaṅgala* of Makundarāma, *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bipradāsa, *Caṇḍi* of Mādhavācārya. It is also mentioned in the *Pavanadūtā* written by Dhōyī, the court poet of Lakṣmanasena. It lost its importance as a port owing to the silting of the river-bed of the Sarasvatī. In the 9th century A. D. Saptagrāma was ruled by a powerful Buddhist king named Paramabhaddāraka Śrī Śrī Rupanārāyaṇa Sinha. The Egyptian traveller, Ibn Batuta, came here in the 13th century A. D. Saptagrāma, the metropolis of Rāḍha or western Bengal was later conquered by Jafar Khan whose tomb is still found at Trivenī. Many coins of Muslim rulers, e. g., Sher Shah and Husen Shah have been found here. During the rule of Alauddin Husen Shah of Gauḍa, it was called Husenābād and was the seat of an imperial mint. In the 16th century A. D. a Hindu chief named Rājivalocana conquered it from Sulaiman, the Sultan of Gauḍa. It is the birth-place of the author of the *Caṇḍī*.¹ We get a glimpse of its prosperity from Bankimcandra's *Kapālakunḍalā* and H. P. Shastri's *Bener Meye*. It is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas being the home of Uddhārāṇa Datta, a follower of Caitanyadeva. Nityānanda, the right-hand-man of Caitanya, spent many years in this locality. A mosque and a few tombs are still found here.

Vaiṣṇavāṭī : It is in the district of Hooghly where there are three temples of Viṣṇu, Kālī (Svayambhava) & Haimśeśvarī (an aspect of Durgā). The temple of Viṣṇu is the oldest. The temple of Haimśeśvarī was built in 1814. Close to Vaiṣṇavāṭī there is a sacred abode of Uddhārāṇa Datta, a celebrated Vaiṣṇava disciple of Caitanyadeva. It is very much frequented by the Vaiṣṇavas specially on the anniversary day of this religious reformer.

Trivenī : It is five miles from the present Bandel Junction Station. It is a sacred place of the Hindus, situated at the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Bhāgirathī. The site is ancient as it is found mentioned in Dhōyī's *Pavanadūta*, a work of the 12th century A. D. The Muslim historians call it Tirpāṇi or Firozābād as Firoz Shah, Sultan of Bengal, lived here for some-time. During the Muslim period it was an important city and a

¹ It describes the greatness of Durgā. (*Devīmāhātmya*).

port. The mediaeval Bengali poet Mukundarāma mentions it as a sacred place, much frequented by the pilgrims.¹ It was once a centre of Sanskrit learning. Here we find the tomb of Jafar Khan, the conqueror of Saptagrāma, and close by there is a mosque with the maxims of the *Holy Quoran* written on it. The tomb of Jafar Khan was built over a Hindu shrine containing some inscribed scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Mahānād: It is in the district of Hooghly and it can be reached by Magra-Tarkeswar Light Railway. It was once the capital of Western Bengal. Mahānād contains the ruins of ancient palaces, old Hindu temples and old tanks. According to tradition it was the seat of king Candraketu, the ruins of whose *gaḍ* (moat) are still found there. The temple of Dvārāvāsini, old ponds, e. g., Jiyatkunḍa, Pāpaharapakunḍa, and Sāt Satiner Dighi are found here. Near the old Śaiva temple of Jāteśvaranātha we find some tombs. The Jāmāi-Jāngal Road, the Vasiṣṭhagaṅgā, and the Jiyatkunḍa are noteworthy.

Pāṇḍuyā: It is situated at a distance of 38 miles from Calcutta. It is commonly known as Pedo. It is in the Hooghly District and is quite distinct from Pāṇḍuyā of the Malda District. In the 15th century A. D. Samsuddin Isuf Shah, king of Gauda, conquered this Hindu kingdom of Pāṇḍuyā. It contained many Hindu temples. An ancient Hindu temple dedicated to Sun-God was converted into a mosque. Besides this place contains damaged mosques and a minar which is 127 ft. high. There are two tanks here by the name of Joḍāpukur and Pīrpukur. Every year in the months of January and April fairs are held and many people bathe in the Pīrpukur, the water of which is considered to be sacred.

Katwa (Kāṭadvīpa): It is in the district of Burdwan, and a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas because here Caitanyadeva at the age of twenty-four became a hermit and shaved his hair.

Jhāmaṭpura: Four miles to the north of Katwa there is a village called Jhāmaṭpura. It was the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇa-

¹ Vāmdike Hālisahar dakṣiṇe Trivenī.
yātrider kolāhale kichui nā śuni ||

dāsa Kaviṛāj, the celebrated author of the *Śrī-Caitanya Caritā-mṛta*.¹

Kātnū :— It is in the district of Burdwan and is considered to be a very sacred place to the Hindus because it was the abode of the famous Vaiṣṇava saints, Sūryadāsa, Gauridāsa, Jagannāthadāsa and Bhagavāndāsa. It is also famous as Ambikā-Kālnā.

Murshidabad :— It is situated at a distance of 122 miles from Calcutta, on the bank of the River Bhāgirathī. It was known to the ancients as Mukshudābād or Mukshusābād. It was the capital of the last independent ruler of Bengal. This city was well-built by Nawab Murshidkuli Khan who was then the viceroy (subedar) of Bengal. At one time this city was adorned with many magnificent buildings and palaces. It was an extensive city, populous and prosperous. The following are the noteworthy things there :

(1) *Imāmbārū*, which was built by Nawab-Nazim Mansur Ali, it is 680 ft. long ;

(2) *Moti Jhil*, which contains a beautiful garden, it is now in ruins ;

(3) *Hājārdūyārī*, which was the old palace of the Nawab, a massive structure ;

(4) *Katra Musjid*.

(5) *Tomb of Nawab Sharfaraz Khan* who became the Nawab of Murshidābād for one year after the death of Suja Khan ;

(6) *Tripolia Gate*.

(7) *Jahankosha Cannon*.

(8) *Tōpkhūnā*, which was built by Murshidkuli Khan, close to the *Katra Musjid* ; and

(9) *Nizamat-Adakut* and *Sadar Dewani Adalat* ; no trace of them is now found, on the ruins of these a beautiful palace with a delightful garden has been built.

On the other side of the Ganges flowing through the town of Berhampore stands the tomb of Nawab Shiraz-ud-daula.

Rāṅgāmāṭi : It is situated in the District of Murshidabad as distinct from Rāṅgāmāṭi of the Chittagong Hill tracts. The

¹ It is a famous book of the Vaiṣṇavas of India. It is a monument of Hindu genius as a work on philosophy and literature. Much has been written in this book on Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

site of Rāṅgāmāṭī in Murshidābād lies on the western coast of the Ganges, a mile and a half to the south-east of Chirati, a Railway Station, 94 miles from Bandel. The soil of this place is red and hard and offers clue to the name of this place. According to some the name is derived from *Raktamṛti* or *Raktabhitti* (*lo-to-wei-chi*) the name of an old Buddhist monastery which the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, found in Kārṇasuvarṇa in the 7th century A. D. Rāṅgāmāṭī is thus believed to have been the site of Kārṇasuvarṇa. Many coins of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta ages, a few mounds of bricks and clay called Thākurvādī Dāṅgā, Rāksusi Dāṅgā, Rājvādī Dāṅgā, Samnyāsī Dāṅgā and a few tanks like Yamunā Puṣkaraṇī, Pīr Pukur, etc. are found there. A Hindu deity made up of stone with eight hands called Mahiṣa-mardini¹ has been discovered here.

Pāhāḍpura : The ruins of Pāhāḍpur are situated at a distance of three miles to the west of the Jāmālganj Railway Station (B. & A. Ry.) in the District of Rajshahi. The huge mound of bricks, 80 ft. in height, that stands at Pāhāḍpur probably gave rise to the name of this place as it looked like a rock. Somapura was its ancient name. Situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the northwest of Mahāsthāna or ancient Puṇḍravardhana and southeast of Bāṅgaḍ or ancient Koṭivarṣa, there stood an old Buddhist monastery now in ruins. The Pāhāḍpur monastery resembles such great monasteries as Barabudur² and Prāmbānam monasteries in Java and Angkorvat monastery³ in Cambodia. In the Buddhist vihāra at Pāhāḍpura we find a square sanctuary with many chambers, each having a courtyard in front and a small portico. A high altar is found probably meant for religious worship.

To the east of this sanctuary we find a little *stūpa* (shrine containing a relic, dagoba) called *Satyapīrer bhūtū* where we find a temple of Tārā.⁴ The Pāhāḍpura monastery was built in the 8th century A. D. under the Pāla kings of Bengal. The terracotta

¹ Durgā, the killer of the demon Mahiṣa.

² Vide The Life of the Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabudur by Dr. Krom.

³ Vide Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu) by Percy Brown.

⁴ Personification of Prajñāpāramitā or perfection of wisdom and consort of Avalokiteśvara, a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva.

plaques on the walls of the monastery contain the tales of the *Pañcatantra*¹ and the *Hitopadeśa*. The stone images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, some lovely figures telling the stories of the life of Kṛṣṇa, slaying of Dhenukāsura, holding of Mt. Govardhana by Śrīkṛṣṇa are found here. The Epic and Pauranic scenes like the fight of Bāli and Sugrīva, the death of Bāli, the abduction of Subhadrā, etc., are also found. In the 5th century A. D. there was a Jain temple at Pāhādpura. The famous Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna,² is said to have spent many years under his teacher, Ratnākara Śānti, in the Somapura mahāvihāra.

Khetuḍ: A village in the district of Rajshahi. It was visited by Caitanya in the 16th century A. D. A temple has been built here to commemorate his visit.

Mahāsthānagaḍ: The present ruins of Mahāsthāna or Mahāsthānagaḍ lie 7 miles north of the modern town of Bogra. Cunningham identifies this site with the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana, the name of which occurs in a Brahmanic inscription of the Maurya age. During the 4th, 5th and the 6th centuries A. D. when India was ruled by the Imperial Guptas, Puṇḍravardhanabhūkti was a Gupta province under a viceroy who had the title of *Uparika*. The river Karatoyā which still washes the base of the mounds of Mahāsthāna separated it from the more easternly kingdom of Prāgyjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa in Assam. Puṇḍravardhana was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. D. According to the Chinese pilgrim this country was more than 4000 li in circuit and its capital more than 30 li³ (5 miles). To the west of the capital there was a magnificent Buddhist establishment and near it stood an Aśoka tope. The city lost its importance from the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. for the later Sena kings of Bengal shifted their capital first to Deopārā in the Rajshahi district and later to Gauḍa in the Maldah district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A. D. Puṇḍravardhana was occupied by the Mahommedans.

¹ A collection of moral tales written in Sanskrit from which the *Hitopadeśa* is partly taken.

² Went to Tibet. He belonged to East Bengai. Author of *Caryāgiti* and *Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna-gītikā*, etc.

³ li—a chinese mile, equal to more than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of an English mile.

There was a village called Vāsu Bihāra, 4 miles to the west of Mahāsthān, which, according to Cunningham, was the site of the well-known monastery called *Po-shi-po*, by the Chinese pilgrim.

The following are the important things found at Mahāsthāna : a battered Jain, statue ; ruins of Hindu and Buddhist shrines ; and later tombs and mosques.

Bāngaḍ : The ruins of Bāngaḍ or Bānnagara are found on the eastern bank of the river Punarbhavā, one and a half mile to the north of Gaṅgārāmpur which is 18 miles south of Dinajpur. The region round modern Gaṅgārāmpur was called Damdamā during the muslim period and it may be identical with Koṭikapura or ancient Devkoṭ, the capital of Kotivarsa in northern Bengal. Bāngaḍ, according to tradition, was the site of the fortified town of the demon king, Bāna, whose wife Kālārāṇī is said to have a tank dug called Kālādighi at Gaṅgārāmpura. Besides there are other tanks such as Tāldighi and Dhalādighi. Of the ancient buildings and monuments we have no trace at present. A Kamboja king of Gauḍa built a temple of Śiva. According to the copper plate inscription of king Mahīpāla I discovered at Bāngaḍ, Mahīpāla regained his lost paternal kingdom. Some of the old relics of Bāngaḍ are now kept in the Dinajpur palace. Here we find a richly carved stone pillar made of touch-stone, a Śiva temple and a Buddhist caitya (shrine or temple) of about the 11th century A. D.

Tarpanghāt : An important village in the district of Dinajpur. Here Vālmiki, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* practised penances. Near by there is a brick built *stūpa* known as Sitakoṭ which is said to have been the abode of Sitā, the banished wife of Rāmacandra.

Gauḍa : Gauḍa was the capital of Bengal during the Hindu and Muslim periods. According to some the name is derived from *guḍa*, i. e., molasses as Gauḍa was formerly a trading centre of molasses. The ruins of Gauḍa lie at a distance of ten miles to the south west of the modern town of Malda. It was an ancient town as its name occurs in the Epics and the Purāṇas. It was the capital of Devapāla, Mahendrapāla, Ādisura, Ballāla-sena and the Mahomedan rulers up to about the end of the

16th century A. D. It formed a part of the kingdom of the Imperial Guptas during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A. D. There is no trace at present of Rāmāvati, the capital of ancient Gauḍa under Pāla rulers. It lay several miles to the north of the present site of the ruins of Gauḍa near the river Kālindī. Lakṣmaṇāvati or Laknauti which was built by king Lakṣmaṇasena was the later capital of Gauḍa under Sena and Muslim rulers. King Ballālasena built a castle at Gauḍa which goes by the name of Ballālabādī or Ballālabhītā. The ruins of this fort are found at Shahdullapur. One of the biggest tanks in Bengal known as Sāgardighi is attributed to him. Near the present site of Gauḍa stands the ancient village of Rāmakeli which was visited by Caitanyadeva. The abodes of Rūpa and Sanātana,¹ the Rūpasāgara tank, the Kadamba tree, some wells known as Rādhākunḍa, Śyāmakunḍa, Lalitākunḍa and Viśākhākunḍa and the ancient temple of Madanamohana are now found there. There is another village called Khalimpur near the site of Gauḍa. A copper plate inscription of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been discovered here. The following relics of the Muslim age are noteworthy :—

- 1 *Jān Jān meah mosque* built by Sultan Gīyasuddin Mahmud Shah.
- 2 *The Dākhil Durwājā* or the gate of the ancient muslim fort of Gauḍa.
- 3 *The well-known Sonā mosque (Barduāri)* - a square building built of stone.
- 4 *Ruins of Hāvelī Khūs* (or the ancient capital).
- 5 *Tomb of Sultan Husain Shah* built of coloured bricks.
- 6 *Feroze minar* (high and massive structure).
- 7 *Kadam Rasul mosque* built by Sultan Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah in the 16th century A. D. containing 4 minarets of black stone and footprints of the Prophet.
- 8 *Chikū mosque.*
- 9 *The famous Loton mosque* built of various coloured bricks (white, green, blue and yellow).

¹ They were the disciples of Caitanya who were sent by him to preach the cult of loving faith to Brindaban to discover the holy places where Śrī Kṛṣṇa engaged himself in līlā or sports.

Besides these there are other noteworthy objects, e. g., the temples of Gaudeśvarī, Jaharāvāsīnī, Śiva—the manaskāmanā deity,¹ Ramābhītā and Pātālacandī.

Pāṇḍuyā: The ruins of Pāṇḍuyā lie to the east of the river Mahānandā in the district of Malda. A clear trace of Hindu relics is found at Pāṇḍuyā in a dilapidated culvert with images of Hindu deities beneath it. Many remains of the Muslim age are found at this site, e. g., *Selāmi-Dargā*, *Āsānsāhi Dargā*, *Baisk-Hāzārī Dargā*, *Eklakkhī* and *Soṇā mosques*, and the *Ādinā mosque* which is the most famous.

Vikramapura: It lies in the Munshiganj sub-division of Dacca. A portion of it is included in the Faridpur District. The name Vikramapura is generally applied to the tract of country bounded by the Dhaleśvarī on the north, the Idilpur parganā on the south, the Meghnā on the east and the Padmā on the west. The name of this place is derived from a king named Vikrama who ruled it for sometime. Rāmapāla, the ancient capital of Vikramapura, lay 3 miles west of Munshiganj. The name Śrī Vikramapura occurs in the Sitāhātī Copper Plate Inscription of Ballālasena. A copper plate inscription of the Buddhist king Śrī Candradeva of the Candra dynasty has been discovered here. Rāmapāla, the birth place of Śīlabhadra, the principal of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā, was the eastern headquarters of the Hindu kings of Bengal for sometime. The ruins of a palace called Ballālabādī, many ancient ponds called Rāmapālādīghi, Ballāladīghi, etc. and many Hindu and Buddhist deities of the Pāla period have been found at Vikramapura. To the north of Rāmapāla in a village a mosque of Ādam Śabīd is found. The village of Vajrayoginī lying on the south west corner of Rāmapāla was the birth place of the Buddhist savant, Dīpaṅkara Śrījāna, who was born in the 10th century A. D.

Maināmāṭī and Lālmāi ranges: Maināmāṭī is about 6 miles west of the present town of Comilla. The Lālmāi and Maināmāṭī rocks are situated in the district of Tippera in East Bengal. The name Maināmāṭī is probably associated with Mayanāmāṭī, the queen of Mānik Candra, a king of the Candra who ruled Bengal

¹ The deity who fulfils human desires.

in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. This queen and her son Gopicandra figure largely in Bengali folk-songs. Queen Mayanāmātī seems to have been a disciple of Goraknātha, a great Śaiva yogī while her son was a disciple of a low caste *siddha* (perfected one). A copper plate inscription of the 13th century A. D. found at Maināmātī records gift of a piece of land by the king Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva to a Buddhist monastery at Paṭṭikera. An officer of the royal groom is mentioned as embracing Sahajayāna Buddhism¹ at Paṭṭikeraka. A village of the Tippera district which extends up to the Maināmātī hills even now retains the name Pāṭikārā or Paikārā. The existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera may be traced as far back as the 8th century A. D. It was situated in ancient Samatata. Coins similar to those of the Candra dynasty and terracotta plaques, with figures of Arakanese and Burmese men and women, have been found at Maināmātī. In these coins the name of Paṭṭikera occurs. It appears that there was an intimate relation between Burma and the kingdom of Paṭṭikera. Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva was a chieftain of this place while the Devas were then the independent rulers. The Paṭṭikeraka vihāra of the Pāla period was an important monastery. A mound at Maināmātī known as the ruins of Ānanda Rāja's palace seems to be a monastery. Some rulers of the Candra dynasty, e. g., Śrī Candra, Gobinda Candra, Suvarṇa Candra, Pūrṇa Candra, etc., mentioned in the inscriptions ruled eastern and southern Bengal between A. D. 900 and 1050 with Rohitāgiri as their capital. Rohitāgiri probably included the present Lālmāi hills, 5 miles to the west of Comilla.

The naked-stone image of a Jaina *Tīrthankara* (head of a sect) found at Maināmātī, shows the influence of Jainism in this region. The discovery of such deities as Gaṇeśa, Hara-Gaurī,

¹ The Sahajayāna better Sahajasiddhi was the latest phase of Buddhism in eastern India. It arose as a protest against unnecessary rituals, excessive academic zeal, the *tantras*, *mantras*, *yantras*, *maṇḍalas* and other paraphernalia of the two earlier forms of Mahāyāna, namely the *Bodhisattva naya* (the classical) and the *Agrānaya* (the advanced). It advocated Sahajasiddhi as the quickest and the surest way of awakening in us the *Bodhicitta* which is the means of attaining *Bodhi* or enlightenment. Bengali songs of the Sahajiyā School, *Bauddha Gān o Dōhā* by H. P. Shāstrī.

Vāsudeva, shows the influence of Hinduism there. Of some mounds situated at Maināmāti Ānandarāja's palace, Bhojarāja's palace, Caṇḍimurā, Rūpabānmurā, Śālbānrāja's palace are noteworthy. In one of these mounds we find temples of Śiva and Caṇḍī. A square monastery like that at Pāhāḍpura existed there. The central temple contains on its walls projecting mouldings, lotus petals, etc. Many carved terracotta plaques which contain the figures of *Yakkhas*,¹ *Kiṃpuruṣas*,² *Gandharvas*,³ *Vidyā-dharas*,⁴ *Kiṃṇaras*, *Buddha*, *Padmapāñi*, warriors, animals, lotus flowers, etc. have been discovered. The potteries found there are mostly in ruins. Some small bronze images of the Buddha have also been found.

Candranātha: In the vicinity of Sitākunḍa there are the famous temples of Candranātha and Śambhunātha, in the district of Chit-tagong, which are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Bengal. The peak of Candranātha is regarded as a place beloved of Śiva. The shrine on the top of the hill contains a *lingam* or symbolical representation of Śiva and the ascent to it is said to redeem the pilgrim from the miseries of future births. The largest gathering takes place at the *Śiva Caturdaśī* festival.

Sundarban: The forest region of Sundarban was formerly included in the kingdom of Samatāta or Bāgḍī (Vyāghratatī). The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, saw many Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples at Samatāta in the 7th century A. D. but no trace of them has yet been found. Some decorated bricks, fragments of stone sculptures, coins of Skandagupta and Huviṣka, an image of Sūrya and a Navagraha slab, etc., have been discovered here.

¹ They are supernatural beings, deities of varying ranks. They are benevolent and are closely connected with vegetation, human fertility and wealth. They are essentially tree-spirits and they possess magic power. The cult of Yakkhas may be described as an early form of devotional Hinduism, perhaps going back to a period in history contemporary with the Vedas. The individual Yekkhas are for the most part local and tutelary deities.

² Wild men of the woods same as *Kinnaras*.

³ A class of Demigods, heavenly Musicians.

⁴ Demigods who are magicians.

AN UNNOTICED ASPECT OF GAUDĀPĀDA'S

MAṆḌŪKYA KĀRIKĀS

BY

P. T. Raju

There have already been many articles on Gaudapāda and his *Kārikās*; but all of them have been occupied either with proving that he was a Buddhist, or that he was a vedantin who was greatly influenced by Buddhist ideas, which he incorporated into the Vedānta, or that neither was he a Buddhist nor was he influenced by Buddhist ideas. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri practically maintained the extreme position that Gaudapāda wrote the last chapter of his *Kārikās* to develop the Upaniṣadic theory into the Buddhist *Vijñānavāda*, thereby showing the superiority of the latter to the former.¹ Of course, it may easily be shown that Gaudapāda was not a Buddhist, that the *Kārikās*, or even the fourth chapter was not meant to show the superiority of the *Vijñānavāda* to the Vedānta. Even the fourth chapter praises *Vipras*² or Brahmins and speaks of *brahmanyam padam*.³ It is true that Buddha very often spoke of the Brahmins with respect and that Asaṅga, the author of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, spoke of the realisation of the Brahmin as the highest achievement. But this only proves the influence of the Vedānta on Buddhism, that some of the Upaniṣadic ideas were securing a place in Buddhist thought. If Gaudapāda had really been a Buddhist and wanted to show that the *Vijñānavāda* was truer than the Vedānta, he would not have used Vedantic terms. Besides, the word *Aja*, which Gaudapāda so glorifies, is, though it means *anutpanna*, particularly a Vedantic term. Just as it is said that Śaṅkara explains away the term *buddha*, it may be said that the Buddhist interpretation of the *Kārikās* will have to explain away *Aja*. Further, it is not reasonable to take the

¹ *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, 1922.*

² Stanza 86. ³ Stanza 85.

fourth chapter apart from the other three chapters. And if Gauḍapāda defends the Vedānta in the latter, he must be doing the same in the former. And there is no evidence to show that he changed his mind later after writing the first three chapters or that he meant the first three chapters to be only stepping stones for proving the final validity of the *Vijñānavāda*.

But we cannot so easily controvert the opinion that Gauḍapāda was greatly influenced by the *Vijñānavāda*. It may be shown that the word *vijñāna*, even in the sense of the highest reality, is common to both the Upaniṣads¹ and Buddhism, though, in the former, *vijñāna* is more often used with reference to *vijñānamayaakośa* and *buddhi*. But there are many other words which are distinctly technical (*pāribhāṣika*) terms of Buddhist philosophy. *Dharma* in the sense of a phenomenal thing,² *bhūva* in the sense of a perishable thing,³ *dhātu* in the sense of *vastu*,⁴ *buddha* in the sense of awakened, cannot easily be explained away as non-Buddhistic also. Particularly the words *buddha* and *dharma* in the peculiarly Buddhistic sense occur too often. There are other words also like *saṃvṛti satya*,⁵ *saṃghāta*,⁶ *alātaśūnti*, which is the heading of the fourth chapter, *asparśayoga*,⁷ and *lakṣaṇāśūnyam*,⁸ which are common to the Advaita also. And it may be admitted that the sentence, *naitadbuddhena bhūṣitam*,⁹ can be interpreted both according to the Advaita and the *Vijñānavāda*. But on the whole, the influence of the *Vijñānavāda* is very obvious. Also, it is likely that Gauḍapāda was converted to Buddhism first or might have been a born Buddhist before he accepted Vedantism and gave it his own interpretation. There is also another possibility, which we shall have to accept in the absence of any definite evidence in favour of other possibilities, namely, there must have been a ferment of ideas both in the Buddhist and Vedantic folds, due to mutual criticism and discussion, and what appeared to be the

¹ *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās*, IV, 45, 48, 50, etc., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III, 9, 28 *vijñānamānandam brahma*. Also cp. III, 4, 2 *vijñātervijñātāram* but not merely *vijñātervijñātāram*.

² IV, 6, 8, 10, 21, 46, 53, etc., etc. ³ II, 1, 13, 16, 19. ⁴ IV, 81.

⁵ II, 1, 4; IV, 33, 57, 73, 74. ⁶ III, 3, 10. ⁷ III, 39; IV, 2.

⁸ IV, 67. ⁹ IV, 99.

most cogent ideas might have been incorporated, with slight differences, by both schools. But in the development of metaphysical systems, so far as available literature goes, Buddhism seems to have taken the lead. The *Prajñāpāramitās*, out of which both the Madhyamika and the Vijñānavāda schools sprung up, are earlier than Nāgārjuna (2nd. century A. D.). But the *Prajñāpāramitās* themselves must have developed out of ideas borrowed from the Upaniṣads. The Buddhists must have entered into controversies with the Vedantins during and before the time of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, after which the former must have brought together the results of the controversies in a somewhat systematic form. And as shown by Bādarāyaṇa's references to earlier Vedantins, the Upaniṣadic ideas also must have been grouped together in some systematic form by Kaśa-kṛtsna and others. But these are lost for us, and were lost probably even for Gauḍapāda, who makes no reference to them. The *Brahmasūtras* themselves required interpretation and systematisation. And Gauḍapāda, therefore, must have approached the Upaniṣads themselves from the side of the *Vijñānavāda*, which might have appeared as the best metaphysical system of the time, nearest to the Upaniṣadic teachings. The *Māṇḍūkya* contains the central teaching of the Upaniṣads and constitute the inner approach to the philosophical problem for all orthodox systems. Gauḍapāda therefore must have attempted to interpret the *Māṇḍūkya* itself from the side of the *Vijñānavāda*, which was incorporated into the Vedānta.

II

What has so far been discussed has been noticed by a number of scholars, and the discussion is briefly given here only so far as it concerns the purpose of the present paper. Now, there is another aspect of the *Kārikās*, which seems to have escaped notice so far. The ferment of philosophic ideas of the age must have contained not only the Upaniṣadic and Buddhist ideas but also the Śaivite. It is difficult to say that the Śaivite ideas are not Upaniṣadic; but they have a peculiar quality or colour of their own. They have their own terminology. That the world is the *spanda* of Śiva or Śiva's Śakti is a theory peculiar to Śaivism.

Gauḍapāda uses the word *spanda* in as many as six stanzas.¹ At one place he speaks of the world as the *spanda* of *manas*,² at another as the *spanda* of *citta*,³ and in three places as *viññāna-spanda*,⁴ and compares all these to *alāta-spanda*.⁵ *Manas* and *citta* may be taken to mean the same for the *Kārikās*. Then the world has to be understood as the *spanda* of *viññāna* or *citta*, so far as the teaching of the *Kārikās* is concerned. Gauḍapāda uses the word *Māyā* more than once : ⁶ but he does not speak of the *spanda* of *Māyā*. And for him, *Māyā* is not existent.⁷ Anyway, he must have meant that *cittaspanḍa* and *viññānaspanḍa* are the same, though not directly at least indirectly. He asserts also that the *spanda* and its effects cannot enter *viññāna*, which is *acala*.⁸ (We may indeed raise the question how *viññāna*, which is *acala*, can have any *spanda* : to which we cannot find a direct answer, or the only answer possible, consistent with the *ajātivāda*, is that even the *spanda* of *viññāna* is *Māyā*, which is not *sat* (*na vidyate*). Vidyāranya probably would have said that this *spanda* is the *śakti* of *viññāna*, and that *spanda* has no existence means that it is not a separate entity from *viññāna*.⁹ It is not necessary now to go farther into this ultimate logical question ; we are interested only in showing that Gauḍapāda uses the word *spanda* in a very significant sense. Just as we see straight lines, curved lines, circles etc., so long as there is *alāta-spanda*, we see the world so long as there is *viññānaspanḍa*. And just as, when the *spanda* of the *alāta* ceases, these figures do not enter the *alāta* ; when the *spanda* of *viññāna* ceases, the world of forms due to that *spanda* does not enter *viññāna*. That is, *viññāna* as such is pure : it is *viññānamātra*.¹⁰

III

Such a significant usage of the concept of *spanda* makes us think that Gauḍapāda was influenced not only by the ideas of the *Viññānavāda* but also by the *spanda* doctrine. The question may now be raised whether this *spanda* doctrine was incorporated

¹ III, 29 ; IV, 47, 48, 49, 51, 72. ² III, 29. ³ IV, 72.

⁴ IV, 47, 48, 51. ⁵ IV, 49. ⁶ II, 19 ; IV, 58. ⁷ IV, 58.

⁸ IV, 51, 52. ⁹ See *Pañcadaśī*, II, 47.

¹⁰ Cf. Saṃkara's Commentary on *Kārikā*, IV, 52. *Viññānamātre jātvyādi buddhirmṛgaiva*.

from Śaivism or from some other independent system, for it is not to be found in the principal Upanisads. Even the *Śvetāśvatara*, which is Śaivite, does not speak of *spanda*, though it speaks of *Māyā*. And we have no evidence to prove the existence of a non-Śaivite *spanda* system. If we therefore take it as belonging to Śaivism, we may further ask whether it is the same as the Kasmir *spanda* system expounded by Vasugupta and his followers. We know that Gauḍapāda is earlier than Vasugupta, who belonged to about the first half of the 9th century A. D. Even Śaṅkara, the grand disciple of Gauḍapāda, belonged to the 8th century A. D. Gauḍapāda therefore cannot be much later than the 7th. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his *Indian Philosophy*, writes: "He must be much earlier, since Walleiser states that the *Kārikā* is quoted in the Tibetan translation of Bhavaviveka's *Turkajvālā*. The latter author is earlier than Yuan Chwang, and Gauḍapāda must be therefore about A. D. 550."¹ If this is true, then Gauḍapāda must have lived about one and half centuries after Asaṅga, the famous *viññānavādin* and the author of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*. In any case, he is undoubtedly earlier than Vasugupta, the first well-known exponent of the *spanda* doctrine.

We have therefore to think that the *spanda* doctrine must have been current, in some form or other, during the time of Gauḍapāda. And this *spanda* doctrine has very close resemblance to that expounded by Vasugupta. The ultimate *tattva* for Gauḍapāda is *viññāna*, and for Vasugupta, is Śiva, whose nature is *jñāna*. Even the original Upanisad speaks of the fourth state as Śiva, which of course need not be identified with the Śiva of Śaivism; and Gauḍapāda also speaks of the *ātman* as Śiva,² *Prabhu*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara* and so forth. Just as the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās* are based on the interpretation of the three states of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep, the *Spanda-kārikās* are based on their interpretation,³ the only difference being that the former maintain that the fourth state (*turiyāvasthā*) is identical with Śiva, while the latter contend that there is a fourth state beyond the three, which is still *mohātmikā*,⁴ and that only in the fifth state can we be identical

¹ Vol. II, p. 452 footnote. ² I, 29. ³ I, 2, 14; II, 1, 2 etc.

⁴ See the *Vivṛti* of Rāmakaṇṭha, II, 9.

with Śiva. Both are thus based on the explanation of the three states. Even the *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* speak of *bijānidrā* or sleep which is the matrix of the world.¹ It is well known that, according to Śaivism, *Māyāśakti*, out of which the world issues forth, is the *Nidrā* of Śiva. The *Spandakārikās* speak of Śiva as *anāvṛta*,² which is the same as *asamūrta*. The *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* also speak of *samūrta*.³ The idea of *samūrtaśatya* is innately connected with these ideas. One feels that the *āvaraṇaśakti* is the same as this *samāvaraṇa* or *samūrta* and the *vikṣepaśakti* the same as *spanda*. Or these ideas might have some common root ideas. Very likely, there were some common ideas belonging to the philosophical atmosphere of the time, and they gradually developed and took some definite shapes in the different systems. However, Gauḍapāda speaks of *icchāmūtram prabhossṛṣṭi*⁴ as not a very tenable view, and is perhaps refuting the theory that the world is due to the *icchāśakti* of Śiva. And we can understand him, because he is interested in proving that *Māyā* is not *sat*, whereas those that maintain that the world is a *pariṇāma* of Śiva's Śakti, hold that it is *sat*. But we cannot clinch this point, because Abhinavagupta, who belongs to the same Kāśmīr school of Śaivism, writes:

*Samsāroṣṭi na tattvatatstannubhṛtām bandhasya vārtaiva kū
bandho yasya na jātu tasya vitathā muktasya muktikriyā
mūhyāmohakṛdeṣa rajjubhujagacchāyāpiśācabhramo
mā kiṃcityaja mā grhāṇa vilāsa svastho yathāvashātāḥ*⁵

and practically supports Gauḍapāda every way. For this stanza involves *ajātivāda*, the view that the world is not existent, and that it is *bhrama* (*māyā*). The *Spandakārikās* describe the fourth stage as a great *ākāśa* (*mahāvyaoman*), which though devoid of the duality of subject and object, is yet *mohātmikā* and *āvṛtā*, because of the absence of *īśvaraśaktipāta*.⁶ But as there is no such fourth state in the *Māṇḍūkya*, the highest itself is compared to pure *ākāśa*. Such comparison is very common in both the Upanisads and Buddhist works, and is not peculiar to any. But an important point to note in this connection is that the fourth state of

¹ I, 13. ² I, 2. ³ II, 1, 4; IV, 33, 57, 73, 74. ⁴ I, 8.

⁵ *Anuttarāṣṭikā*, ⁶ See Ramakantha's Comm. on II, 9.

The conclusion of this discussion is obvious: Gauḍapāda was a *smārta* Vedantin and not a Buddhist. He utilised not only the ideas of the *Vijñānavāda* but also of *spanda*, which must have been current by his time. The *spanda* doctrine could not have originated in Kāśmir as late as the 8th or the 9th century, but must be earlier and must have belonged at least to the country where Gauḍapāda was living. (Or was Gauḍapāda himself the originator of that doctrine?) The Buddhist metaphysics was overwhelmed not only by the Vedānta but also by Śaivism, both of which incorporated the Mahāyāna ideas. And each of the three was borrowing not only metaphysical ideas but also spiritual experiences from the other two. There might also have been a fund of spiritual experience common to all, which none was able to deny in controversies.

NOTES ON A FEW WORDS

BY

BIMALACHARAN DEB

I

The student of Sanskrit is set an interesting problem when he finds two or more words, which he had been told were synonymous, used in one single passage. It is only natural that he thinks they are not really synonymous as he had been told, and that there must be some distinction between them so as to justify their juxtaposition, and this starts him on an enquiry.

The enquiry thus started is often a baffling one. He finds that, either there is no commentary available, or, if there is one, it reminds him of the well-known gibe दुर्वोधं यदतीव &c. Moreover, he finds that the farther a commentator (or lexicographer) is away in point of time from the book in relation to which information is sought, the more likely he is to be uncertain or mistaken as to the meanings of words, and sometimes the wrong explanation is due to obsession of class interests or to ignorance of the particular branch of knowledge regarding which he is giving information. I shall have occasion to illustrate these points by citing actual cases as I go on. The *kośas*, and modern Dictionaries and commentaries (which, more often than not, rely very much on the *kośas*), are, accordingly, sometimes disappointing and sometimes positively confusing.

Another difficulty which confronts the student is लिपिकरप्रमाद. And the position is rendered extremely difficult indeed when an inadvertent (or incompetent) editor perpetuates it in print, and the error, almost as a matter of course, finds its way into a Dictionary. I shall here give one of the instances which have come to my notice.

Mahābhārata 4. 4. 26 (C. P.) reads in the text नाहमस्य प्रियोऽस्मीति मवा सेवेत पंडितः; and in the *Nilakanṭha ṭīkā* पंडितः सिल्हके कबौ इति विश्वः; *Medini* (Calcutta, 1869) also reads पंडितः सिल्हके कबौ.

That made me think (apart from its being incongruous in the context), even supposing पंडित may be synonymous with कवि, how does सिल्हक (which is a balsam or gum) come in? Looking up पंडित in Apte, I find one of the meanings given there is "incense". Monier Williams also gives the same meaning, "incense, L".—"L" meaning "lexicographer", i. e., giving as his authority some lexicographer, whom, however, he does not name, (a very unsatisfactory practice with M. W.), but it seems practically certain that he is referring to Viśva or Medinī or both. Thereafter I look up Śabdakalpadrūma and find, s. v. सिल्हक, two of its synonyms कपि (and not कवि), and पिंडात (not पंडित). That explains it—पिंडातः सिल्हके कपो has become पंडितः सिल्हके कपो. But this error has gone into Apte and Monier Williams. One would hesitate to object if Apte and Monier Williams are cited as authorities on the point.

So much on the negative side.

On the positive side, I have learnt from all this the deep truth of the sayings नैकपदानि निर्भयात् (Nirukta 2. 3. 4) and ग्रंथो हि ग्रंथांतरस्य टीका and of that śloka in Sūsruta Samhitā, 1. 4. 6 :—

एकं शास्त्रमधीयानो न विद्याच्छास्त्रनिश्चयम् ।

तस्माद् बहुश्रुतः शास्त्रं विजानीयाच्चिकित्सकः ॥

That is to say, Remember the context always,—and, Cast your net wide if you are really anxious to know the correct meaning of a word.

With these words, I would set down what I have found about certain words :—

I. वसा, मेदस्.

We find वसा and मेदस् mentioned together in वसामेदोवहा कुल्या नागानां संप्रवर्तिता Mb. 1. 53. 12 (CP.)=1, 48, 12 (B. O. R. I.): वसामेदोवहा कुल्यास्तत्र पीत्वा च पावकः । जगाम परमां तृप्तिं दर्शयामास चाऽर्जुनम् ॥ Mb. 1. 234. 6 (CP.)=1. 225. 6 (B. O. R. I.).

Bhīma's गदा is described as वसामेदोपदिग्धानीम् Mb. 9. 11. 52 (CP).

What is the distinction between वसा and मेदस्? Nilakantha does not say anything at any of these places.

Let us see, first, what lexicographers say :—

Amarakośa, 2. 6. 64 says बुकाग्रमांसं हृदयं हन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा. This passage has been read in two different ways:— (1) बुकाग्रमांसं हृदयं हत, मेदस्तु वपा वसा. This is the reading of Maheśvara in his *ṭkā* to Amarakośa. (2) बुकाग्रमांसं हृदयं, हन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा. This is the reading evidently adopted by Śabdakalpadrūma, because, in explaining वपा, it says सा च हृदयस्थधातुः (see s. v. वपा). Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja, a renowned vaidya of Bengal, in his *ṭkā* to Caraka Samhitā (published Samvat 1925-1937), called ' Jalpakalpataru ', definitely adopts this reading हन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा.

Leaving aside the first portion as not material for our present purpose, my view is that both the readings of the latter portion (मेदस्तु वपा वसा and हन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा) are wrong. This is not surprising. Amara Simha, a Jain, cannot be expected to know much about मेदस् or वपा or वसा. [It may seem presumptuous on my part to say that Amarakośa is wrong here, but I shall go further and say that this is not the only place where I have found it to be wrong. I shall show at the proper time and place where it is wrong and why. As regards a famous commentator also, I think he is wrong on a certain point and for a similar reason. This also I shall state at the proper time and place].

Apte says, s. v. मेदस्, n.—“ 1. Fat, marrow (one of the seven dhātus of the body and supposed to lie in the abdomen); M. S. 3. 182 ; Y. 1. 44 ; 2. Corpulence, fat of the body ”.

That Apte is wrong in saying “ marrow ” is beyond question ; marrow is मज्जा. His “ fat of the body ” is much wider than the fat “ supposed to lie in the abdomen ”, and this latter is also vague.

Monier Williams gives as one of the meanings of मेदस् n., “ Fat, marrow, lymph (as one of the 7 dhātus, q. v. ; its proper seat is said to be the abdomen) ”.

Monier Williams is similarly wrong in saying “ marrow ” ; and “ lymph ” seems unjustified. He also limits it to the abdomen.

Now, let us see how the matter stands so far as प्रयोग is concerned, i. e., how the words in question are used in literature. It is good to remember the maxim प्रयोगशरणा वैयाकरणा :

Manu, 3. 182, mentions मेदस्, but unfortunately Medhātithi does not explain it nor does Kullūka. Bühler (S. B. E.), however, translates it as "adipose secretions".

Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 1. 44, mentions मेदस्, but Mitākṣarā does not explain it. Yāj. Sm., 3. 94, mentions वपावसावहननम्. Here Mitākṣarā says वपा प्रसिद्धा वसा मांसस्नेहः. We keep aside वपा for the present. According to Mitākṣarā, then, वसा is the fat in the flesh, i. e., the adipose tissue.

Devanṇa Bhaṭṭa, in his Smṛticandrikā (ed. Gharpure), Part III, p. 435, l. 18, quotes वसामेदोभवं दीपम् and explains—वसा पाकादिना विभक्तो मांसस्नेहः । मेदो हृदयकमलाच्छादकादिमांसविशेषः पाकादिना विभक्तः । तदीयस्नेहोऽत्र मेदःशब्देन लक्ष्यते । Thus according to Smr. Ca., both वसा and मेदस् are found in the body, and both are procured by 'cooking'. There is, however, this distinction between the two,—the former is 'the fat in the flesh', i. e., adipose tissue (मांसस्नेहः), and the latter is 'the fat in the covering of the heart' (pericardium).

Devanṇa Bhaṭṭa's explanation of वसा seems to gain support from Sāyana in his Commentary to Taitt. Saṁ 1. 3. 10. 1, where he says मांसपाकभांडे स्थितः स्नेहात्मको द्रवविशेषो वसा.

Now let us look to medical works, which ought to be more definite on the point in question than the class of books just referred to.

We find Caraka Saṁhitā, 4. 6. 12, saying तस्मान्मांसमाप्याय्यते मांसेन...मेदो मेदसा, वसा वसया and further saying at 4. 7. 17, when describing the components of a body and their quantities, त्रयो वसायाः, द्वौ मेदसः, एको मज्जाः.

So, according to Ca. Saṁ., वसा and मेदस् are different from each other.

But, Ca. Saṁ., at 1. 25. 22-30, in discussing the nutritive properties of certain foods, says लोहितशालयः शूकधान्यानां पथ्यतमत्वे श्रेष्ठतमा भवन्ति...वराहवसा आनूपमृगवसानां, चुलुकीवसा मत्स्यवसानां, हंसवसा जलचरविहंगवसानाम् । कुक्कुटवसा विष्किरशकुनिवसानाम्, अजामेदः शास्त्रामेदसाम् । अहिततमानामुपदेक्ष्यामः.....महिषवसा आनूपमृगवसानाम्, कुंभीरवसा मत्स्यवसानाम्, काकमद्गुवसा जलचरविहंगवसानाम् । चटकवसा विष्किरशकुनिवसानाम्, हस्तिमेदः शास्त्रामेदसाम् ।

This latter passage seems to disturb the above statements in the same book (4, 6, 12 ; 4, 7, 17) which clearly treat वसा and मेदस् as two different things. Any way, we are not told by Ca. Sam., exactly what वसा and मेदस् are or is.

Ca Sam. is a ' Physician's Handbook '. Let us see Suśruta Saṁhitā, which is a " Surgeon's Handbook " and ought to tell more about it.

Suśruta Saṁhitā, 3, 4, 11-13, says मेदो हि सर्वभूतानाम् उदरस्थम् अण्वस्थिषु च महत्सु मज्जा भवति । भवति चाऽत्र-स्थूलमस्थिषु विशेषेण मज्जा त्वभ्यंतराश्रिताः । अथेतरेषु सर्वेषु सरक्तं मेद उच्यते । शुद्धमांसस्य यः स्नेहः सा वसा परिकीर्तिता ॥

So,—मज्जा (marrow) is the " fat " in the big bones.

मेदस् is the " fat " in the abdomen (i. e., inside the abdominal cavity, meaning the omentum and the abdominal viscera in general) and in the smaller bones.

वसा is the " fat " in the flesh, i. e., adipose tissue (excluding, of course, the abdominal viscera).

Accordingly,—मेदस् and वसा are both " fat ", but of different kinds altogether.

In these circumstances, Amarakośa must be wrong in so far as it makes वसा synonymous with मेदस्. Similarly, Smr. Ca. must be wrong in so far as it says that मेदस् is the fat in the pericardium. The reading of Amarakośa adopted by Śabdakalpadrūma and by Gaṅgādhara (हृन्मेदस्तु वषा वसा) must also be wrong.

II. वषा.

As regards the lexicographers, we have already referred to Amarakośa, 2. 6. 64, and shown that Amarakośa is wrong in making वसा synonymous with मेदस्. Its mistake is worse as regards वषा.

Medinī says वषा विवरमेदसोः, i. e., वषा means ' a hollow or cavity ', and also मेदस्. So far as मेदस् is concerned, it is the same as (if not actually based on) Amarakośa and, is, like it, wholly wrong.

Coming next to Apte, we find him saying, s. v. वषा " 1. Fat, marrow. Y. 3. 94 ; 2. A hole, cavity ; 4. The skin of the intestines ".

Apte seems wholly wrong. वषा is neither " fat " nor " marrow "

(which is मज्जा) nor "the skin of the intestines". His "2. A hole, cavity" is obviously based on Medinī.

Monier Williams gives no less than five meanings of वपा, Nos. 2 to 4 being "a cavity, a hollow, hole; the skin or membrane investing the intestines or parts of the viscera, the caul or omentum; V. S. &c., &c., (the horse has no omentum according to ŚBr.); the mucous or glutinous secretion of the bones or flesh, marrow, fat (= medas). L."

Monier Williams also seems to be wholly wrong. He does not, as usual, mention the name or names of his "L", but it seems to be no other than Amarakośa and Medinī.

Coming to प्रयोग now, we find the word used in Yāj. Sm., as referred to by Apte. But there Mitākṣarā is disappointing. It satisfies itself by saying वपा प्रसिद्धा.

Caraka Samhitā, 4. 7. 12, enumerates the कोष्ठान्ग's, i. e., the internal organs contained in the hollow of the entire torso (and not merely the abdominal cavity), and there, in company with हृदय, यकृत and प्लीहा is mentioned वपावहन. This shows that it is different from हृदय, so that the idea that हृन्मेद is वपा must be wrong. The reason for the suffix, वहन, I have not been able to find. But, from what I have found, as I shall presently show, it seems to mean "sustaining or supporting the वपा".

In Kauśika Sūtra, 3. 7, we find कृषभदंडिना वपयंत्रं यजेत. Sāyana to A. V. 7. 40. 1 says वृषभवपया इंद्रं यजेत. But we do not get here what exactly वपा is.

The first indication of what it is like I got from Introduction to Sāyana to A. V. 18. 2. 51—अग्नेर्वस [५८] इत्यनया सप्तच्छिद्रया गो- [वपया] प्रेतमुखम् आच्छादयेत्. This refers to the अनुस्तरणी गौः and shows that this वपा was a part of its body and must have been very much like a sheet in appearance, and in which seven holes were made, (obviously, one for each of the सप्त शीर्षयाः प्राणाः). That this sheet-like thing was large enough to cover the dead person's face is clear, so that it could not be such a small thing as the pericardium, nor such small, flimsy bits like the "skin of the intestines" or "caul" or "omentum" (i. e., peritoneal membrane, which is not like a sheet). To suggest,

with the above passage before one's eyes, that it is " the mucous or glutinous secretion of the bones or flesh, marrow, fat ", would, on the face of it, be absurd.

Upto this., however, we get that it is something like a sheet, but nothing more.

In Taitt. Sam. 2. 1. 1. 4, we get स (i. e. प्रजापति) आत्मनो वषामुद-
क्खिदत्. Sāyana makes the thing perfectly clear here by saying
स्वशरीराद् मध्यवर्तिनीं पटसदृशीं वषामुदक्खिदत् उत्खियोद्धृतवान्. So,
we get that it is like a sheet capable of being torn out.

The fact that it is not only पटसदृशी, but also उदरमध्यवर्तिनी,
makes me think that it is the diaphragm and that it has nothing
to do with the heart.

That it is different from the heart is shown by Hiranyakeśi
Grhya Sūtra (ed. Kirste) 2 15.5— संज्ञतायै तूष्णीमग्निः प्राणानाप्याय्य
तूष्णीं वषां हृदयं मतन्ने उद्धरति. In view of this, ' वषा हृदयस्थवातुविशेषः '
can hardly be maintained.

Finally, as regards the position of the वषा in the cavity of the
torso, we have in Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra (ed. Ganapati Śāstri)
1. 9. 10— संज्ञप्य पुरा नाभेस्तृणमंतर्थाय वषाम् उत्खिय etc. Haradatta, in
his Anāvīlā tīkā to this passage, says— पुरा नाभेरिति वषास्थाननिर्देशः
नाभेरर्वागित्यर्थः That is the position of the diaphragm in the body.

Considering all the above factors, there can be no doubt that
वषा is the diaphragm. Otherwise it will not be possible to make
seven holes in it, or to cover a man's face with it, or make possi-
ble the use of वषाश्रवणी, and वषावहन would accordingly mean its
muscular attachments all round the abdominal cavity, forming
its support.

III. स्तेन, तस्कर.

Apte and Monier Williams agree in saying that both स्तेन and
तस्कर mean " thief, robber ". It is perfectly clear that a " thief "
is not the same thing as a " robber ". I shall presently show that
स्तेन and तस्कर are not quite the same thing.

We have in Mb. 12. 259. 7 (C. P.)—

यथाऽधर्मसमाविष्टो धनं गृह्णाति तस्करः ।

रमते निर्हरंस्तेन परवित्तमराजके ॥

Unfortunately, Nilakanṭha does not say anything here. But it is obvious that स्तेन is something different from तस्कर. Wherein lies the difference?

From what I have found, स्तेन means A thief, i. e., one who takes stealthily. And तस्कर means a robber, i. e., one who takes openly, i. e., with violence, a dacoit.

This will be seen from R. V. 7m. 55. 3—स्तेन राय सारमेय तस्करं वा पुनःसर, where Sāyana says प्रच्छन्नधनापहारी स्तेनः प्रत्यक्ष-धनापहारी तस्करः ।

This idea is also expressed in Śābara Bhāṣya to Mīmāṃsā darśana, 1. 2. 11—यथा स्तेनाः प्रच्छन्नरूपाः .

There is another distinction made between स्तेन and तस्कर on the basis, not of the mode of taking as above, but on that of the value of things taken by them. स्तेन is one who takes things of comparatively smaller value; तस्कर is one who takes things of great value. This distinction is mentioned in A. V. 19. 50. 5 :—

अप स्तेन वासो गोअजमुत तस्करम् ।

अथो यो अर्वतः शिरोभिधाय निनीषति ॥

The man who steals clothes, cows and goats is a स्तेन, and तस्कर is a man who steals horses. Sāyana says here—स्तेनतस्करयोः पर्यायत्वेऽपि अपहृत्यद्रव्यगौरवेण पृथगपहननम् उक्तम् इति वेदितव्यम् ।

IV. शातकुम्भ, जांबूनद

Taking शातकुम्भ first of all, both Apte and Monier Williams say simply "gold". But it means "silver" as well. Bhaṭṭa Utpala ṭīkā to Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā, 12. 20, says—शातकुम्भशब्दः सुवर्णरजतयोर्द्वयोरपि वाचकः ।

Then, as regards जांबूनद and शातकुम्भ, Apte says about both simply "gold". Monier Williams says s. v. शातकुम्भ simply "gold" and s. v. जांबूनद 'gold from the Jambu river, any gold'. They seem both to rely on Amarakośa 2. 9. 94-95,

From what I have found it seems that they were different metals, जांबूनद being the more prized of the two. Mb. 13. 85. 83 (C. P.)

एवं सुवर्णमुत्पन्नमपर्यं जातवेदसः ।

तत्र जांबूनदं श्रेष्ठं देवानामपि भूषणम् ॥

What was the distinction between the two? जांबूनद was reddish and शातकुंभ was white. Not that शातकुंभ was not valuable; it was only less valued than जांबूनद, that is all.

The fact that जांबूनद was reddish appears from the following—
तत्र जांबूनदं नाम कनकं देवभूषणम् ।

इंद्रगोपकसंकाशं जायते भास्वरं तु तत् ॥ Mb. 6, 7, 26 (CP).

जांबूनद इवादीप्तः प्रदीप्तज्वलनो यथा । Harivaṃśa, 2, 98, 47.

That gold of this description was found in the mountains of India is beyond doubt. See Beal, "Si-yu-ki", Book xii, (Vol. II, p. 298) where Hiuen Tsang speaks of gold that is found in Po-lo-lo (Bolor, modern Balti or Baltistan in north Kashmir) and says it is ' as red as fire '.

In Mb. 1. 221. 52 (C. P.)=1. 218. 46 (B. O. R. I.), we have कृताकृतस्य मुख्यस्य कनकस्याग्निवर्चसः ।

As regards the distinction between the two, we have
जांबूनदमयान्यस्य शातकुंभमयानि च ।

प्रदीप्तज्वलनामानि शीतराश्मिनिमानि च ॥ Harivaṃśa, 2. 6 4. 4.

After this, I think, there cannot be any manner of doubt that शातकुंभ and जांबूनद are not synonymous. To say that both are " gold " would be incorrect. In fact, while जांबूनद appears to be gold, शातकुंभ seems to be a valuable metal, no doubt, but not gold at all. It is white in colour against the yellow of the gold, and may be, for aught I know, something like platinum or some similar white metal, whose colour was not, for some reason known to them, preferred to that of gold. They were both सु-वर्ण but not सुवर्ण both of them.

V. कुल, वंश, जाति.

I have found the following passages illustrating the use of the above words:—जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा Mb. 12. 107. 30 (CP); उदात्तकुलजातीय उदात्ताभिजनः सदा Mb. 13. 145. 31 (CP).

These two passages show कुल and जाति mentioned together. There must be some distinction. Nilakanṭha does not say anything. I have not been able to discover anything in Amarakośa,

Śabdakalpādruma, Apte or Monier Williams, which would indicate the distinction.

Similarly कुलवंशप्रतिष्ठां हि पितरः पुत्रमब्रुवन् Mb. 1. 74. 98 (CP) = 1. 69. 17 (B. O. R. I.); रत्नभूमिं प्रदद्यात् तु कुलवंशं प्रवर्षयेत् Mb. 13. 66. 32 (CP).

Here कुल and वंश. Here also Nilakanṭha is silent, and I have not found anything in the four books just mentioned.

I found the answer, however, in the Inscription of Daśaratha in Dilwārā Temple, Mt Abu, dated Samvat 1201 (published in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā of Benares, Vol. 18, Sam. 1994, p. 235)—
श्रीश्रीमालकुलोत्थानिमलतरप्राग्वाटैवशांबरे घ्राजच्छीतकरोपमो गुणनिधिः
श्रीनिम्नकाख्यो गृही ।

Ninnaka's mother's family was श्रीमाल and his father's family प्राग्वाट or पोरवाड.

This shows that कुल means "mother's family", i. e., the family in which the mother was born, while both जाति and वंश, being contrasted with कुल, mean the "father's family".

VI. बिडाल, मार्जार, वृषदंश.

Amarakośa 2. 5. 6. says ओतुबिडालो मार्जारो वृषदंशक आसुभुक्. This is another of the places where Amarakośa is wrong. It is wrong in so far as it identifies वृषदंश with बिडाल and मार्जार.

Mb. 9. 44. 25 (C. P.) says—

व्याघ्रसिंहर्क्षवदना बिडालमकराननम् ।

वृषदंशमुखाश्चान्ये गजोद्भवदनास्तथा ॥

Similarly, Mb. 9. 45. 30 (C. P.) says—

मार्जारिशशवक्त्राश्च दीर्घवक्त्राश्च भारत ।

and Mb. 9. 45. 84 (C. P.) says—

गोखरोद्भूमुखाश्चान्ये वृषदंशमुखास्तथा । ।

Unfortunately, Nilakanṭha does not say anything at any of these places, except बिडालवृषदंशो मार्जारजातिभेदौ at 9. 44. 25.

But this much is certain from the above passages that वृषदंश is neither बिडाल nor मार्जार. That बिडाल and मार्जार both mean "cat" may be taken to be undisputed. At least, there is no reason to think that they are different.

But what is वृषदंश? And is it really different from मार्जार? The answer is given by *Suśruta Samhitā*, 1. 46. 70 and 76. The former passage reads सिंहव्याघ्रवृकतरक्षुऋक्षदीपिमार्जारशृगालमृगैर्वाक-प्रभृतयो युहाशयाः i. e., मार्जार, along with animals like the lion and the tiger, is a cave-dweller, it lives in natural caves.

The latter passage reads गोधाशशशृषदंशलोपाकलोमशकर्णकदली-मृगप्रियकाजगरसर्पमूषिकनकुलमहाबध्नुप्रभृतयो विलेशयाः ।

i. e., वृषदंश, along with animals like the hare, the snake, the mouse and the mongoose, is a 'burrow-dweller', i. e., it is a burrowing animal. Exactly what sort of animal it is I have not been able to find, but this much is, to me, certain that it is *not* a cat.

Apte says it is a 'cat'. Monier Williams says—'a cat; a kind of animal living in holes, *Susr.*'

Apte and Monier Williams, in so far as they say 'cat' rely evidently on *Amarakośa* above referred to and must be held to be wrong.

If this passes muster with the Editor, I shall try and send some more of this sort as soon as I can manage.

Finally, I do not know, but the language of this article in some places may be thought to be of presumptuous carping criticism. But I hope not to be misunderstood. I am not a Sanskritist, but an humble student of Sanskrit, an Indian who is earnestly trying to understand the language of his forefathers correctly. He is grateful for everything he receives by way of instruction. But, at the same time, he does feel disgruntled if he finds that the instruction in any particular case was wrong. There is one good side to this, however; this dissatisfaction spurs him on to enquiries, and, so, on towards truth. And, who knows, to Truth? That is all that I have to say.

II

I. नेत्र, अक्षि.

नेत्र, and अक्षि are said by Amarakośa, 2. 6. 93, to be synonymous. But it seems नेत्र means the entire eye, and अक्षि the iris only. प्रचंडघोणः पृथुदीर्घनेत्रः ताम्रायताक्षः कुरुराज एव Mb. 4. 71. 13 (C. P.) = 15. 25. 5 (C. P.).

II. शिष्य. अंतेवासी.

They are not really synonymous.

शिष्य is a pupil for Vedic lore, and अंतेवासी one for handicrafts and the like. Smṛticandrikā (ed. Gharpure), II. p. 174 तथा च नारदः (१, १२)—“शिष्यांतेवासीदासस्त्रिप्रैष्यकृत्यकरैश्च यत् । कुटुंबहेतोरुद्दिष्टं दातव्यं तत् कुटुंबिना ॥” शिष्यो वेदविद्यार्थी । शिल्पविद्यार्थी अंतेवासी । So also in Mitākṣarā to Yāj. Sm. 2. 182.

III. कपोत, पारावत.

Amarakośa makes them synonymous. 2. 5. 14.

But they are really different, कपोत being the dove and पारावत the pigeon. The first is inauspicious, and the second auspicious.

कपोत is said to be the messenger of Nirrti in R. V. 10. 165. 1. This Sūkta is directed to be recited if a dove enters a house. Br̥hat Samhitā, ch. 45, sl. 71-72. See also Br̥hat Samhitā, ch. 87. sl. 12-13. In Bhāgavatam, 1. 14. 14, कपोत is described as स्युद्भूत.

Caraka Samhitā, 6. 4. 32, Smṛticandrikā, III, p. 428, and Mb. 13. 104. 114-5 (C.P.) all agree in saying that कपोत is inauspicious, and पारावत is auspicious.

कपोत is of three kinds, आपांडुर, चित्रकपोत and कुंकुमधूष Bhaṭṭa Utpalā's tīkā to Br̥hat Samhitā 87, 1, as also ibid., 87. 12-13. It appears that this division is known in the United Provinces even now. The आपांडुर variety is known as टोदु, the चित्रकपोत as चित्रक, and the कुंकुमधूष as सरोति. Sometimes, a fourth class is made out by splitting कुंकुमधूष into कुंकुम and धूष, the कुंकुम being the सरोति and the धूष the कला (dark).

IV. आवाह, विवाह

आवाहाश्च विवाहाश्च सह सूतेर्मया कृता Mb. 5, 141, 14 (C. P.) = 5, 139, 14 (B. O. R. I.); आवाहाश्च विवाहाश्च यज्ञाश्चात्रमृते तथा । निवर्तते नरश्रेष्ठ ब्रह्म चात्र प्रलीयते ॥ Mb. 13, 63, 33 (C.P.).

That there must be some distinction is obvious. Nothing in Nilakantha, Apte or Monier Williams to indicate it.

It seems both are invitations to marriages. आवाह is invitation to the bridegroom's house—what we in Bengal call वरयात्र, and विवाह is invitation to the bride's house what we in Bengal call कन्यायात्र.

This is shown in Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra, 4. 1, 15—आवाहे विवाहे यज्ञे गमनं सखीभिः सह गोष्ठी देवताभिगमनमित्यनुज्ञाता कुर्यात् ।

Here Jayamaṅgalā ṭikā says—आवाहे वरगृहे, विवाहे कन्यागृहे ।

V. विवाह, उद्वाह

They are not synonymous. There is nothing to show the distinction in either Apte or Monier Williams.

विवाह means the first “half” of the entire marriage ceremony. It takes place in the bride's house and goes on upto (but not including) the departure of the newly-married couple for their home. The second “half” of the ceremonies is called उद्वाह, beginning with the boarding of the रथ by the newly-married couple and ending at the bridegroom's house with a यवपूर्णांजलिहोम. Sāyana, Intr. to AV. 14, 1, 1 says—विवाहः । स कुमार्याः पितृगृहे ।कुमारीं तत्पाद् उत्थापयति.....इति विवाहः ॥ अथोद्वाहः । तत्र वरस्य गृहे वधूनयनम् तेनैव सूक्तेन यवानाम् आज्यमिश्राणां पूर्णांजलिं जुहोति । इत्युद्वाहः ।

VI. नारी, स्त्री

They are not exactly synonymous. स्त्री means woman in general. नारी is a woman who is super-excellent among women. आर्ताऽऽर्ते मुदिते प्रीता नार्यर्ये स्त्रीषु सा भवेत् ।

Nītimañjarī (Dyā Dviveda), śl. 114. Dyā Dviveda explains the distinction—

अर्यः स्वामी आर्ते दुःखिनि आर्ता दुःखिता, तस्मिन् मुदिते सति या प्रीता मुदिता, सा स्त्री नारी भवेत्, “यतश्च निर्धारणम्” (पा. २, ३, ४) इति सप्तमी । अन्या न ।

VII. इंद्र, महेंद्र.

They are not synonymous.

देवताश्चोपांशुयार्जेन्द्रमहेंद्रवर्जम्—Āśval. Gr. Sūt. 1, 10, 4.

इंद्रं निगमेषूपलक्षयेदिंद्रयाजिनो महेंद्रं महेंद्रयाजिनः—Āpast. Śr. Sūt. 2, 2, 7.

इंद्र was worshipped by those who had not attained prosperity. but were anxious to do so. महेंद्र could not be worshipped by anybody who had not succeeded in attaining prosperity.

नाऽगतश्रीमहेंद्रं यजेत Āpast. Śrauta Sūtra, 1. 14. 9.

VIII. काद्रवेय, नाग.

Amarakośa 1. 8. 4 makes काद्रवेय and नाग synonymous, leaving out सर्प. As a matter of fact, it is undeniable that both नाग and सर्प are काद्रवेय, i. e., children of कद्रु.

I recall अर्बुदो नाम काद्रवेयः सर्पऋषिः Durgācārya to Nir. 2. 5 ; and Śaṅkara to R. V. 10. 94. 1—कद्रवाः पुत्रस्य सर्पस्याऽर्बुदस्यार्षम्

IX. कीर्ति, यशस्.

Amarakośa 1, 5. 11 (and Apte and Monier Williams) make them synonymous. But Mb. 12. 54. 32 (C. P.) says—

यावद्वि प्रथते लोके पुरुषस्य यशां भुवि ।

तावन् तस्याक्षया कीर्तिर्भवतीति विनिश्चिता ॥

Obviously कीर्ति and यशस् are not the same thing. Nilakantha explains यशः परचित्तचमस्कृतिजनको गुणौघः । कीर्तिः साधुतयाऽन्ये कथनम् ।

Thus यशस् means "the superior qualities of a man which impresses others", and कीर्ति "the appreciative talks about him by other people".

X. क्रतु, यज्ञ.

Neither Apte nor Monier Williams makes any distinction between the two.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4. 13. 136 says अयमपि यज्ञादनंतरमन्यस्कृतं तं तस्यानंतरमन्ययज्ञांतरं चाजस्रमविच्छिन्नं यजतीति

Mb. 6. 33. 16 (C.P.) = Gītā, 9. 16 says अहं क्रतुरहं यज्ञः ।

Here Śaṅkarācārya Bhāṣya says क्रतुः श्रुतः कर्मभेदोऽहमेवाऽहं यज्ञः स्मार्तः ।

XI. क्रोध (कोप), अमर्ष.

Amarakośa, 1, 7. 26 treats these as synonymous, and so do Apte and Monier Williams.

But

क्रोधामर्षौ समुत्सृज्य संप्रतस्थे दिवं तदा Mb. 1, 228, 23 (C. P.) = 1, 219, 19 (B. O. R. I.); which reads कोपः; सक्रोधामर्षजिह्वभ्रू-
कषायदृशस्तथा Mb. 1, 96, 17 (B. O. R. I.); क्रोधं बलममर्षं च यो
निधाय परंतपः । जितात्मा पांडवोऽमर्षी भ्रातुस्तिष्ठति शासने ॥ Mb. 5, 90,
25 (C. P.) = 5, 88, 26 (B. O. R. I.); उवाच सारथिं तत्र क्रोधामर्ष-
समन्वितः Mb. 7, 115, 4 (C. P.). Nilakantha does not say any-
thing at any of these places.

We have in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1. 13. 27—ततस्ते मुनयः सर्वे क्रापांमर्ष-
समन्विताः Here Śrīdhara in his Ātmaprakāśa ṭīkā says कोपश्च
अमर्षश्च भगवन्निदाजनिता ताभ्यां समन्विताः Viṣṇucitti ṭīkā here says
अमर्षोऽतितिक्षा

So, क्रोध (or कोप) is "Anger". अमर्ष is "the state of impatience
or impetuosity (or incapacity to put up with the circumstances),
being the result of extreme anger".

The reader will have noticed that I have considered प्रयोग to
be not only very important, but the very touchstone for lexico-
graphers. In fact, in so many cases, my view is that प्रयोग shows
that the lexicographer is wrong. I say this on the basis of a fair
collection of passages critically considered (of course, according
to my lights) in my interleaved copies of Apte and Monier
Williams.

In this view, a new Dictionary of Sanskrit, on the lines of
Murray's Oxford English Dictionary, or of its less known
predecessor, Fallon's Hindustani-English Dictionary, is a
desideratum.

That it is not a "one-man job" is sure enough, particularly
when the language is Sanskrit.

And I recall to my mind.

सर्वः सर्वं न जानाति सर्वज्ञो नास्ति कश्चन ।

नैकत्र परिनिष्ठास्ति ज्ञानस्य पुरुषे क्वचित् ॥

But can it be difficult of achievement, if a batch of Sanskri-
tists, who have made intensive and extensive study of the
language, put their heads together for a number of years?

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF HINDU FESTIVALS—
SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF DIVALI FESTIVAL
—(BETWEEN C. A. D. 50 AND 1945)

BY
P. K. GODE

All festivals have a unifying influence in social and national life. Students of the cultural history of a nation must understand the genesis and development of these festivals and record their history with as much precision and detail as possible. The oldest living civilizations on this globe have contributed not a little to the growth of these festivals, which are a regular feature of national life. To whatever class of people these festivals may belong they have a peculiar human appeal. In India with its numerous religious beliefs we have quite a bewildering variety of religious and semi-religious festivals but unfortunately much of the writing¹ devoted to these festivals is of a descriptive type, in which no attempt is made to fathom the depths of available historical sources with a view to reconstructing any reliable history worth the name.

In 1916 one author who calls himself “*Rgvedi*” published a book called *History of Aryan Festivals*² (आर्यंच्या सणांचा इतिहास) in

¹ The provincial *Gazetteers* of India contain much useful information about many of these festivals but it is of a descriptive type. The history of each festival ought to be studied in the form of monographs as a preliminary to an encyclopaedic history of Indian Festivals. At present our knowledge of the history of festivals is rather nebulous. We cannot say when a particular festival originated and how it developed through centuries of our cultural history. Mere descriptions of the present-day festivals, howsoever enchanting, do not prove their antiquity as these descriptions are a mixture of legends and here-say evidence with many regional variations, from which it is difficult to comprehend the origin and development of these festivals.

² This book was published in Bombay. The Preface of the author is dated 3rd April 1916. This book appears to have enjoyed a wide popularity as will be seen from the *opinions* printed at the end of the volume. The author deals with such topics as — (1) Rise of Indian Astronomy, (2) Seasons, (3) Months, (4) *Adhikamāsa* (intercalary month), (5) Seven days
(continued on the next page)

Marathi. This is perhaps the only book in Marathi which devotes no less than about 370 pages to the study of Hindu festivals but even here one fails to find any history as such of each festival which has governed the life of our ancestors for hundreds of years. This attempt is, however, praise-worthy as it is perhaps the only conscious effort to meet a long-felt want about the history of our festivals. In dealing with each festival the author records valuable information about its currency in different regions of India, the ritual connected with it and the present manner of its celebration. The remarks of the author on the historical background of each festival are suggestive but not comprehensive for want of fully documented study about its origin and development. The author tells us in his Preface that his book is not written for the learned reader. All the same we must thank him for this pioneer¹ attempt, which is sufficiently conscientious and learned within the limitations under which he had to work and thus provide a readable account of Hindu or Aryan festivals as they are observed in India in the different months of one Hindu year.

(continued from the previous page)

of the week, (6) *Sahvatsara-phala*, (7) different *Śakas*, (8) Seasonal Festivals and Historical Festivals (pp. 16-17), (9) *Sahvatsara-Pratipadā*, (10) *Rāmanavamī*, (11) *Dolotsava*, (12) *Gaurī-Utsava*, (13) *Akṣayya-Tṛtīyā*, (14) *Paraśurāma-Jayantī*, (15) *Nṛsiṃha-Jayantī*, (16) *Gaṅgot-sava* or *Daśaharā*, (17) *Vaṭa-Sūvitṛī*, (18) *Mahā-Ekādaśī*, (19) History of *Cūlurmāsa*, (20) *Nāgapañcamī*, (21) *Mahāgalā-Gaurī*, (22) *Śrāvastī*, (23) *Povati Paurṇimā*, (24) *Nārāṣi-Paurṇimā*, (25) *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī*, (26) *Pīthorī-Amūvāsīyā*, (27) *Polā* or *Vṛṣabhotsava*, (28) *Haritālikā*, (29) *Gaṇeśa-Caturthī*, (30) *Ṛṣi-Pañcamī*, (31) *Jyēṣṭhā-Gaurī*, (32) *Vāmana-dvādaśī*, (33) *Ananta-Caturdaśī*, (34) *Mahālaya-Pakṣa*, (35) *Navarātri-Mahotsava*, (36) *Vijayā-daśamī*, (37) *Rāmālīlā*, (38) *Dīpāvalī-Mahotsava* (धनत्रयोदशी or धनतेरस, नरकचतुर्दशी, लक्ष्मीपूजन), (39) *Balipratipadā*, (40) *Yama-dvītiyā*, (41) *Tulaśī-vivāha*, (42) *Dhātṛipūjana*, (43) *Vaikuṇṭha-Caturdaśī*, (44) *Tripurī-Paurṇimā*, (45) *Campā-ṣaṣṭhī*, (46) *Datta-Jayantī*, (47) *Makara-Saṅkramaṇa*, (48) *Vasanta-Pañcamī*, (49) *Ratha-Saptamī*, (50) *Mahāśivarātra*, (51) *Phālguna-Utsava* or *Hoḷī*.

¹ I must not fail to mention here a still earlier book on Hindu festivals. This is called "*Hindu Holidays*" by Balaji Sitaram Kothare, printed at the Times Press, Bombay, 1904, pages 100. The author contributed his articles on this subject to the *Times of India* in the years 1900 and 1901 and these have been presented in a book-form with the above title. About festivals the

(continued on the next page)

According to Rgvedi the Hindu festivals can be roughly classified¹ as follows:—

(1) *Festivals originating from Ritus or Seasons*:—

संवत्सर प्रतिपदा, अक्षय्यतृतीया, चानुर्मास श्रावणी, नारळी पौर्णिमा, विजयादशमी, दीपावली, धात्रीपूजन, मकरसंक्रांत, वसंतपंचमी, होळी व शिमगा

(2) *Historical (Aitihāsika) Festivals*:—

श्रीरामनवमी, परशुरामजयंती, दशहरा, कुष्णजन्मोत्समी, वामनद्वादशी ?

(3) *Śaiva Festivals*:—

त्रिपुरी पौर्णिमा, महाशिवरात्र

(4) *Vaiṣṇava Festivals*:—

नृसिंहजयन्ती, महाएकादशी, अनंतचतुर्दशी, वैकुण्ठचतुर्दशी, दोलोत्सव

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author rightly observes:— " The life of a nation is best depicted by the description given of its festivals, and the Hindus, being a civilized nation from remote antiquity have had their own holidays both to create and express joy. Hero-worship, religious devotion, social enjoyments, and the observance of particular rites and ceremonies, with definite object in view such as preservation of women from widowhood, freedom from the guilt of committing heinous crimes, the preservation of children from death in infancy, the acquisition of wealth, the restoration of lost power, fortune or kingdom, the remembrance, worship or feeding of the departed spirits of ancestors have their characteristic holidays. "— The book deals briefly with the account of the following Holidays:— (1) *Gudi Padva, Ramanavami, (2) Hanuman Jayanti, (3) Vata Pornima, (4) Ashadi Ekadashi, (5) Nag Panchami, (6) Coconut Day, (7) Janma and Gokul Ashtami, (8) Pithori Amavasia, (9) Gunesh Chaturthi, (10) Gauri, (11) Vaman Dwadashi, (12) Anant Chaturdashi, (13) Hindu anniversary Days, (14) Navaratra Festival, (15) Dasara, (16) Kojagari Pornima, (17) Dewali, (18) Four Hindu Holidays, (19) Datta Jayanti, (20) Makara Sankranti, (21) Mahashivaratra, (22) Holi Festival.*

¹ This classification is good enough so far as it goes. It is only after a thorough historical study of each festival is recorded that an accurate classification can be given. As regards the ritual and belief connected with some of the Hindu festivals see *Keys of Power* by J. Abbott (Methuen & Co., London, 1932). I note some points from this book about the *Divāli*:— *Divāli*, 204-205; maidens wave *arti* at D., 63, 183, impression of hand made on cattle at D. 132; Oil applied to the body at D. 159; Lights waved before cattle at D. 184; Foot-prints drawn at D. 146; Worship of implements at D. 230; Manavadi garments during D. 252; Use of red water at D. 282; Seed-drill dressed in garments of a woman at D. 357; Worship of Lakṣmī on the threshing at D. 369; Pole of the threshing-floor out at D. 370; Grinding forbidden at D. 480.— It would be useful to study the history and chronology of these practices from datable sources, Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit.

(5) *Kauṭumbika Festivals* :—

वटसावित्री, मंगलागौरी, पिठोरी अमावास्या, हरितालिका, ऋषिपंचमी

(6) *Śākta Festivals* :—

गौरी-उत्सव, ज्येष्ठागौरी, ललितापंचमी, सरस्वती, देवी नवरात्र चंपावष्टी (?)

(7) *Saura Festivals* :— रथसप्तमी

(8) *Gāṇapatya Festivals* :— गणेशचतुर्थी.

For studying the regional variations in the celebration of different Hindu festivals one must get first-hand information about these festivals from the residents of the different regions, where these festivals are observed. In the absence of this information we can get some information about them in the *Provincial Gazetteers*,¹ some of which were written in a scholarly manner and hence may serve as a useful starting point for a historical study of the different festivals as they show the currency or otherwise of these festivals in different regions, where some of the old traditions have been preserved. We must, however, go from the present to the past and thus try to study when and how the details of these festivals have originated and thus enriched the social, religious and cultural life of India.

¹ The *Bombay Gazetteer* contains the following references to *Divālī* holidays :— Vol. IX, pt. i, 23, note 5, 54, 82, 119, 151, 170, 173, 175, 178, 303, 305, 306, 316, 336; Festival days among Bhils, *id*, pp. 305-306; Fire-worship on— *id*, 357; Days for settling accounts by traders, *id*, 82; Period best suited to subdue evil spirits, IX, pt. ii, 145; Hindu New year considered an evil spirit time, *id*, 148; Buddhist Holidays XIV, 145; among Pātāne Prabhus, XVIII, pt. i, 251-253; among Kunbis, *id*, 294-295.

The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* contains some references to *Divālī* (see IV, 607a; *Ahir*, I, 232b, 233a; *Bhil*, II, 555b; *Davars*, V, 3a; *Dravidian*, V, 3a, 14a, 19ab; *Pavras* V, 19b, *Sacrifice*, V, 14a) — The description of *Dravidian Divālī* (V, 19ab) has the following features :—

- (1) *Lights* are used probably as a means of expelling evil spirits.
- (2) *Sacrifice* of goats and fowls before stones, painted red after bringing them from a neighbouring river-bed.
- (3) *Dancing* and feasting, attended with lighted torches.
- (4) Cattle are decorated with colour and garlands and a figure of the cattle-god *Balindra* is made and kept in the cow-shed.
- (5) Procession of the fiercest bull and the swiftest heifer through the village — Any lad who can snatch a garland from the bull or heifer is considered a fit match for the best girl in the neighbourhood.

In his article ¹ on *Diwali-Folklore* Mr. B. A. Gupte observes :—
 “Holidays in all countries have their folklore, and the *Divālī* of India is no exception. The greater the number of folk-tales, the higher the stage of development in the society, and the greater the interest we find attached to the evolution of the festivities.”
 Mr. Gupte then records half a dozen different folk notions, of which No. V is as follows :—

“The fifth idea has a *historical* basis. It is that King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, a scion of the Gupta race was crowned on this day, the 16th of *Āśvin* and counted his era accordingly. This is thus a New year's day.” From the multiplicity of accounts of the origin of *Divālī* Mr. Gupte discloses the following points :— (1) the change of the season, (2) the death of the rice-crop harvest, (3) the time of manuring the soil for the Second crop, (4) the Sun reaching Libra, the Seventh sign of the Zodiac, (5) the coronation of Rāma, and (6) the selection of this coronation day for the conventional coronation and era-making day of Vikramāditya, the last of the Guptas. In the *Plate of Divālī Drawings* (drawn by women from the 8th day of the 2nd half of *Āśvin* to *Divālī*) accompanying Mr. Gupte's article we find the following symbols :— (1) Temple ascribed to *Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa*, (2) the Sun, (3) the Moon, (4) hanging lamps, (5) *Śaikhā* Shell, (6) the mace, (7) the lotus, (8) the wheel, (9) the *Svastika*, (10) the *Śeṣa* or thousand hooded cobra, (11) the cow's foot-prints, (12) sparrows, (13) the mango, (14) the bel (wood-apple) tree and (15) the foot-prints of Lakṣmī. According to Mr. Gupte “the presence of sparrows at harvest time, the position of the threshing floor usually near a shady tree, and the incoming realization of the sale-proceeds (wealth) as expressed by the foot-prints are significant. This is perhaps the most primitive origin of the festival.”

In the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, pp. 208-309) we get some foreign notices of *Divālī* from A.D. 1618 onwards. I reproduce here these notices with the remarks of the editors :—

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 237-239 (May 1903).

Dewally, S. H. *diwalī*, from Skt. *dīpa-ālikā*, 'a row of lamps' i. e. an illumination. An autumnal feast attributed to the celebration of various divinities, as of *Lakshmi* and of *Bhavānī*, and also in honour of Krishna's slaying of the demon *Naraka*, and the release of 16000 maidens, his prisoners. It is held on the last two days of the dark half of the month of *Āśvin* or *Āśan* and on the new moon and four following days of *Kārttika* i. e. usually some time in October. But there are variations of Calendar in different parts of India and feasts will not always coincide e. g. at the three Presidency towns nor will any curt expression define the dates. In Bengāl, the name *Dīwālī* is not used, it is *Kālī Pūjā*, the feast of that grin goddess, a midnight festival on the most moonless nights of the month, celebrated by illuminations and fireworks. on land and river, by feasting, carousing, gambling and sacrificing of goats, sheep and buffaloes.

A. D. 1613—"Divaly"

—*Godinho de Eredia*, f. 38 v.

A. D. 1623—"October the four and twentieth was the *Dawālī* or the feast of the Indian Gentiles"

—*P. Della Valle*, Hak. Soc. ii, 206.

A. D. 1651—"In the month of *October* eight days after the full moon there is a feast held in honour of *Vistnou* which is called *Dīpāwali*

—*A. Rogerius*, *De Open-Deure*.

A. D. 1671—"In *October* they begin their year with great feasting, Jollity, sending presents to all they have any busyness with, which time is called *Dually*"

—*Hedges Diary*, Hak. Soc. ii, cccxiv.

A. D. 1673—"The first New Moon in *October* is the *Banyan's Dually*"

—*Fryer*, 110.

A. D. 1690—".....their Grand Festival Season called *Dually Time*"

—*Ovington*, 401.

A. D. 1820—"The *Dewal* or *Deepaullee* or Time of Lights takes place 20 days after the *Dussera* and lasts three days; during which there is feasting, illumination, and fireworks "

—T. Coats in Tr. Lit. Soc. Bo., ii, 211.

A. D. 1843—"Nov. 5. The *Diwali*, happening to fall on this day, the whole river was bright with lamps..... Ever and anon some votary would offer up his prayers to *Lakshmi the Fortuna* and launch a tiny raft bearing a cluster of lamps into water,—then watch it with fixed and anxious gaze. If it floats on till the far distance hides it thrice happy hebut if, caught in some wild eddy of the stream it disappears at once, so will the bark of his fortunes be engulfed in the whirl pool of adversity."

—*Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, 84.

A. D. 1883—"The *Diwali* is celebrated with splendid effect at *Benares*.....At the approach of nights small earthen lamps, fed with oil, are prepared by millions, and placed quite close together so as to mark out every line of mansion, palace, temple, minaret and dome in streaks of fire "

—*Monier Williams, Religious Thought and Life in India*, 432.

E. W. Hopkins in his article on *Hindu Festivals and Fasts* in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1912 (Vol. V, pp. 867-871) classifies Hindu festivals as follows :—

(i) *Ancient Festivals* :—

- (1) Moon-festival (seasonal).
- (2) ' Four-month celebration ' (seasonal).
- (3) Ceremony of First-fruits.
- (4) Soma-sacrifice.
- (5) Consecration Ceremony.
- (6) Horse-sacrifice.
- (7) Solstice-feast.
- (8) Twelve nights' Celebration.
- (9) Sacrifices at *tirthas* by pilgrims.

(ii) *Modern Festivals* :— These festivals are new in effect, though old in general character.

(1) *Lamp Festival (Divālī)*—The rites in honour of one god have passed over to another without materially altering the celebration and sometimes even to-day the same celebration is held in honour of different gods. Thus the very pleasing *lamp-festival* in which, in autumn, lamps are lighted in every direction, floating lamps are set off down rivers etc., is celebrated by some as a festival in honour of Visṇu's wife, and by others in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva.—Modern festivals have thrown off Brahmanism as far as possible, and are more clearly celebrations of the seasons, devoid of priestly ritual and self-sufficient.

(2) *Spring Festival* of Northern India (*Holi*)—Between the old and new there must have been a large number of special festivities now lost sight of, or only faintly reflected in intermediate literature—not to speak of many special festivities in honour of gods and goddesses described in the mediaeval Purāṇic and Tantric literature.—Some of the modern festivals are both Sectarian and Seasonal—In the devil-frightening festival viz. the “lamp-festival” (*Divālī*) the original intent of the celebration is merged in the worship of some modern deity.

(3) *Makarasaṅkrānti* and others—

That there were many festivals not included under the screen of religious rites in ancient times may be taken for granted and this is supported by external evidence.—Many of the Hindu festivals have a counter-part in those of other races.

It is clear from the above grouping of Hindu festivals that the *Divālī* or “lamp-festival” is a *Modern festival* according to Hopkins,¹ who, however, does not say when it originated and developed its numerous features as we see them to-day.

¹ Hopkins records the following *Literature* pertaining Hindu Festivals and Fasts:—

- (1) H. H. Wilson: *Select Works*, ii, London, 1832, Ch. iv, “Religious Festivals of the Hindus”.
- (2) Natesa Sastri: *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and ceremonies*, Madras, 1903.
- (3) W. J. Wilkins: *Modern Hinduism*, Calcutta, 1900.
- (4) Monier Williams: *Hinduism*, London, 1877.
- (5) F. K. Ginzel: *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Leipzig, 1906, ff., i, 310-402.
- (6) E. W. Hopkins: *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895 (previous literature cited on pp. 448 and 592).

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In the above volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* there is an article by Margaret Stevenson on *Jain Festivals and Fasts* (pp. 875-879). In this article she describes the *Diwālī* of the Jains as follows :—

“ Next to *Pajjusaṇa* the greatest of all the Jain saored seasons is *Diwālī*. If the former owes its importance to the emphasis which the Jains lay on the sin of killing, *Diwālī* derives its position from the importance of wealth to a mercantile community, the Jains. The Jains assign a special reason for their participation in what is really a Hindu festival in honour of *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth. They say it originated when *Mahāvīra* passed to *mokṣa* and the eighteen confederate Kings and others who were present at his passing instituted an illumination, saying: “ Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter (see *Kalpa Sūtra, Sacred Books of the East*, xlii 266)

The festival continues for four days, the last days of *Āśvina* which close the Hindu year and the first of *Kārttika*—falling usually within the months of October or November. Among the *Śvetāmbara* Jains, the first day (*Dhanteras*) of the festival is devoted to polishing jewellery and ornaments in honour of *Lakṣmī*, on the second day (*Kālīchaulasī*) the women try to propitiate evil spirits by giving them some of the sweetmeats they prepare and cook on this day. These they place in a circle at cross-roads (q. v.) in order to protect their children from evil influences during the year. The third (*Amūsa*) is the great day of the feast. It was on this day that *Mahāvīra* went to *Mokṣa* and *Gautama Indrabhūti* attained to *Kaivalya*. This is the day on which Jains worship their account-books and decorate and illuminate their houses. In the morning Jains of all three sects go to their monasteries and convents and do reverence to the chief monk

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- (7) J. C. Oman: *Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India*, London, 1907, (esp. p. 241 ff., The Holi Festival.)
- (8) A Hillebrandt: *Die Sonnenwendfeste in Alt- Indien* in *Roman Forschungen*, V, (1889) 299-340 and *Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, Strassburg, 1897 (= *GIAP*, lii, 2.)
- (9) B. Lindner: *Das ind. Erntepfer*, in *Festgruss an Böhtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 79-81.
- (10) J. Jolly: *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* li. 8)

or nun present, who preaches to them on the life of Mahāvira and sings appropriate songs. The more devout lay people stay and do *posaha*, but the generality go home and make up their accounts for the year. In the evening they summon a Brāhman to direct the *Śārādā Pūjā* or worship of the account-books, for Brāhman are still the domestic chaplains of the Jains. The Jain having arranged his account-book on a stool, the Brāhman enters and paints a *chāndulo* (auspicious mark) on the Jain's fore-head, his pen and one page of the account-book. He then writes the word *Śrī* (i. e. *Lakṣmī*) on the account-book, either five, seven or nine times in such a way as to form a pyramid. A rupee (the oldest possible) is now placed on the book: this rupee for the time being, is considered to be *Lakṣmī* herself and the placing of it is called *Lakṣmī-pūjā*. All the year the owner will carefully guard this particular coin as it is considered luck-bringing, and will use it again next *Diwālī*, so that in some Jain families the coin used is of great rarity and antiquity. Besides the coin, the leaf of a creeper is also placed on the account-book and the Jain waves a little lamp filled with burning camphor before the book, on which he has placed rice, *pān*, betel-nut, turmeric and various kinds of fruit. The ceremony ends by sprinkling the books with red powder after which the Brāhman and the Jain feast on sweetmeats. The account-book is left open for several hours and before closing it they say: *Lakṣa lābha, Lakṣa lābha*, i. e. a hundred thousand profits.

The fourth and the last day of *Diwālī*, Newyear's Day, is the first day of the month of *Kārttika* and of the commercial year; and the Jains then go and greet all their friends much as we might on our New year's Day and send cards to those who are absent."

If the *Jaina Diwālī* originated with the death of Lord Mahāvira for which B. C. 528-7 is one of the traditionary dates¹ we can definitely say that it is about 2400 years old. Can we establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Diwālī* for such a period and also prove the exact starting point of its history? It is exactly for answering this question on the strength of documentary

¹ Vide p. 46 of *Early History of India* by Vincent Smith, Oxford, 1914 and p. 616 of *Madhyayugina-Caritra-Kośa* by S. Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937.

evidence that I have undertaken the present study. I shall, therefore, try to establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Divālī* as far back as documentary evidence can take it, leaving it to other investigators to improve upon my labours and give us a conclusive history and chronology of this most popular Hindu festival.

In view of the close parallelism between the *Hindu Divālī* and the *Jain Divālī* we are tempted to ask the following questions:—

- (1) Which is the older of the two Divālīs—*Jain* or *Hindu* ?
- (2) Is it possible to suppose that the older of these two *Divālīs* has influenced the younger one ?

These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily unless we have reconstructed the history of both these *Divālīs*. I shall, therefore, record in this paper some data which would reveal to a certain extent the historical background of these *Divālīs* but before I do so I shall record a detailed description of the Hindu or Brahmanical Divālī as given by Margaret Stevenson in her book *Rites of the Twice-Born* (Religious Quest of India Series), London, 1920, pp. 335–340. This description reads as follows:—

“ The great *Feast of Lamps* (*Dīpāvalī*, *Dipālī* or *Divālī*) occupies the last three days of the Indian year (the 13th, 14th and 15th of the dark half of the month of *Āśvina*) which are sacred to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth.

The *first* of these three days (the *Day of wealth-worship*, Guj. *Dhana-terasa*) is extremely auspicious. Indeed, so invariably auspicious it is, that no astrologer need be consulted about a child being put to school for the first time that day, a move being undertaken, newly married brides being sent to their husband's homes, or gold being given out to a goldsmith to fashion into jewellery.

As a rule, before this day there is bustle and stir, excursions and alarms in every Twice-born home, for the houses have to be white-washed throughout and decorated, the compound cleaned and the square before the door replastered and marked with a *Svastika* in chalk and coloured powder, and all the metal vessels, polished till they shine like gold, have to be arranged in glittering rows round the rooms in the ladies' part of the house ; all the ornaments, gold and silver, have similarly to be cleaned

and, if necessary, sent to the goldsmith's for repair ; and all the bills called in and paid. Every old-fashioned house-hold has its own tailor, washerman and goldsmith, whose dues are paid once a year now at *Divālī* ; for not one single debt may be left outstanding. This is the time too when new vessels and new cloth are first taken into use. Old-fashioned people, who do not trust in such new-fangled things as banks, take out their hoardings on this day, wash them in milk and worship them. A fine old chief in one part of India regularly worships a thousand gold *mohurs* on this day. He puts them all into a huge copper-dish, pours water over them and offers them the full sixteen-fold worship, giving alms to Brahmans at the close. All three days the children let off crackers, and help to illuminate their homes by putting lights on the gates. But on this first day the boys tie white strings and clips to the end of sticks to make buzzers (Guj. *Bhumbudā*).

These they whirl over their heads, so that their buzzing may frighten the cows. Any dust these animals kick up on this day is considered specially sacred, so the boys go and stand in the perfect dust-storm caused by the stampeding cows running away from the buzzers, and so acquire virtue without a trace of boredom !

The women with their spring cleaning finished, cook specially nice food and wear their best clothes. The houses not only of the Twice-born but of all the *Hindus* and also of *Jainas* and *Pārsis*, are illuminated, and there is universal rejoicing in the fact that all debts are paid, the harvest garnered and the rainy season over, so that every one seems happy, and the entire holiday is a festival of light-heartedness. Far different will be the following night !

The morning after the Day of Wealth-worship is still a time of gladness and rejoicing (*Rūpa Caturdasi*, *The Day of Beauty*). Men and women get up early take extra pains over their toilet, and wear their finest clothes. Every one is dressed before six, and they all have great fun calling on different friends, break-fasting with them and eating special dainties.

But the *Witches Night* (*Kāla Rātri*) that follows is a parlous time, the most hag-haunted season of the whole year, for then

all the evil ghosts of the wicked or of those who have died violent deaths, and the terrifying spectres of women who have died in child-birth, come out and walk the streets. But besides these black malignant spirits ordinary ghosts, demons, ghosts, wraiths and witches are also abroad. All through the year rash fools who wished to meet ghosts could find them after night fall when they haunt cemeteries and burning-grounds, or in the particular trees where they dwell, but on this 14th night of the dark of the moon of *Āśvina* they are not confined within their usual limits, but move freely, wherever they please.

So all wise people hide at home if they possibly can especially if, like women or children, they are also very timid.

Hanumān, the special guardian against ghosts, has, you may be sure, more than the usual number of worshippers this night, who pour oil and red lead over him and offer him coco-nuts. In return his devotees take some of the oil that drips from his right foot, burn it with soot, and mark their eyes with it, for this not only ensures their being under the special protection of the god for the year, but also improves their sight for the same period.

Other people quiet the ghosts by making circles where four roads meet and put cakes of grain and pulse fried together in oil within the circle, and Indians of other than the Twice-born castes would worship certain mother goddesses within these circles.

Venturesome men who know the right *mantras* for laying ghosts sometimes try and get control over spirits on this night and go alone to the burning grounds. There they make a circle, either with cold iron or with water and sit carefully within its bounds keeping some pulse of a special kind (*Phaseolus radiatus*) near them.

All sorts of ghosts, ghouls, demons, fiends, and witches attack the man. If they come too near, he throws the pulse at them, and this frightens them off; and as long as he keeps a brave heart and repeats the right *mantras* 108 times without stumbling, all goes well, and he is their absolute master for the ensuing year; but if he steps outside the circle before the day dawns, or if for one moment during the terrible ordeal his heart fails him and he blanches, or if he stumbles as he repeats a *mantra*, he is in the fiends' power for ever.

Other Indians, such as Kolis, Bhils, and the low-castes go down on this night to the desolate places where corpses are burnt and, making similar circles, burn within them as sacrifices to terrible mother goddesses, such as *Muhākālī*, or *Blhairavī*, or *Meladi*, offerings of evil forbidden food, spirits and meat and give them a *Sārī* of ceremony and bangles to wear.

If inspite of all her fears, a woman has to go outside her house on this terrifying night, she walks very carefully, for there are circles drawn in every street and if she so much as put her foot inside one, an evil spirit will take possession of her. If, by some mischance, this terrible catastrophe does happen to her, she knows it, and so do her friends, by her constant shaking. Sometimes the woman herself says who the ghost is, how it came, and how to get rid of it.

The last day of the three is the greatest of all the *Dipālī* days. In the morning children get up early, bathe as soon as they are dressed, and let off crackers to their heart's content. The children have had a fine time all three days, for their elders believe that, if the children are indulged and kept happy in every possible way, the year will bring good fortune to both parents and children, you may be sure, make the most of so congenial a creed!

On this last day they take a cake of cow-dung, thrust in it a piece of sugar-cane for a holder and arrange on the cow-dung a tiny earthen lamp, in which a wick floating on sweet oil is kept burning. Carrying this light (*Guj. Meriyum*) the children go round from house to house begging oil for their lamp, that their dead ancestors may get light.

Their elders spend the morning in meeting and entertaining their friends and preparing for what is the main ceremony of the three day's holiday, the *Worship of the Account-books*, by putting bigger lamps than ever in the windows of their houses, for this night the illuminations must be "gorgeous and grand". All the old accounts must be closed and the new ones opened, in preparation for the worship.

The astrologer fixes the exact moment for this all important rite to be performed.

The new account book is opened and on its third leaf a Brāhman writes the word *Śrī* (i.e. *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth) over and over again in such a way as to form a pyramid of the syllable *Śrī*,

In the centre of this pyramid a betel-leaf is placed, and on it a current rupee, the newer the better.

The five-fold worship is offered by the presiding Brāhman to the account-book still open at this page, concluding with *ārati*, and at the end the food offered is distributed to visitors and alms are given to the Brāhman, who in turn blesses his host, saying : " May you be happy all the year. "

Then as an omen, the rupee from the account-book is tossed up, and if it falls with a clear ringing sound, it is a lucky pre-sage for the new year.

Afterwards every one gathers round to eat sugar and grain, sends trays of it to friends and lets off crackers.

The account-book is kept open all night with a lamp burning beside it, and early in the morning the Brāhman returns. His host says to him three times : " *Lakṣa Lābha* " (a hundred thousand profits) and the Brāhman replies : " May you have a hundred and twenty-five thousand profits " and shuts the account-book.

All night long every one in the house has kept awake and with the dawning of the new year they sally forth to wish their friends all happiness. "

My object in reproducing the above description of the *Divālī* in extenso is two-fold : *Firstly* it will enable my readers to compare it with the descriptions of the *Divālī*, as current in the other regions of India and greater India, which may not have come under the direct observation of Mrs. Stevenson ; *Secondly* it will enable research scholars to see if any of the features of the *Divālī* celebration mentioned in this description have any early history for them and whether such history can be proved on documentary evidence of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources. In studies pertaining to the culture of any nation the details of any feature of this culture are most important and need to be recorded with meticulous care so that they may give us as comprehensive a picture of this culture as possible on the strength of present observation and past history, backed up by historical

sources pertaining to different regions and periods. Every modern feature may not have any long history for it but it is possible to trace the history of some essential features of a festival to ancient times.

We have recorded the descriptions of the *Hindu* and the *Jain Divālī* so far. Now let us record a description of the *Divālī* as observed in Greater India by people with Buddhist persuasion. In this connection some interesting information is found in the account of *Siamese Festivals and Fasts* by G. E. Gerini (Vide pp. 885-890 of *Ency. of Reli. and Ethics*, Vol. V) who informs us that Siamese festivals are traceable, as a rule, to either Brahmanism or Buddhism. These two creeds were introduced into Siam at a very early date and consequently Brahmanic and Buddhist rites were introduced into most of the national festivals and ceremonies. Speaking of the festivals observed in Siam in the month of *Kārttika* Mr. Gerini notes (1) the *Feasts of lamps* which is a counterpart of Hindu *Divālī* or *Dīpāvalī* and (2) the *Kārttikeya Festival*, which is a state ceremony recently abolished, in honour of Kārttikeya (or Skanda, the Hindu Mars, son of Śiva) and which is attended with the *floating of lamps*, and *bon-fires*. The *Siamese Divālī* is described by Mr. Gerini as follows :—

“ No. 20. *Feast of lamps* (*Karttika*, 12th month)—This embraces two distinct festivals (1) the hoisting of *lamps on poles on new-moon day* and the lighting of them at night, till the second day of the waning, when they are lowered ; (2) the *floating of lamps* in the streams at night on the 14th, 15th and 16th days of the moon, with the eventual addition of *fire-works*. This second form of illumination seems however, to be connected more especially with the festival hereafter explained (No. 21). On the other hand the *aerial lanterns* hoisted on poles, as aforesaid, are kept burning to scare away goblins as in time of epidemics (cf. e. g. the *rakṣā-pradīpas*, and, it is believed, also to retain the water from draining off the paddy fields, for the ears of rice would not attain maturity if the yearly inundation were to abate so early. Hence the festival is a very popular one like its counterpart the *Divālī* or *Dīpāvalī* in India. They closely correspond although the *ākāśapradīpas* (lamps raised on poles in the air) are in India lighted in honour of *Lakṣmī*. We have here to do essentially

with a festival in honour of Viṣṇu and his consort, for it is known that on the 11th day of the new moon of Kārttika the god awakes from his four months sleep, and that his victory over king Bali (*Vāmana avatāra*) took place at this season. ''

Mr. Gerini does not record any history of the Siamese festivals, hence it is difficult to say at what time the Divālī festival originated in Siam and continued to be observed somewhat on the lines of the Hindu Divālī. If the Siamese *Divālī* is a counterpart of the Hindu Divālī, its history is dependent on the history of the Hindu or Brahmanical Divālī, which we want to reconstruct in this paper.

Resuming now our reconstruction of the history of the Hindu Divālī, I have to record here an interesting account of the Divālī Festival as recorded in a Maratha chronicle¹ which states :—

"Mahādji Soindia (*A. D. 1723-1794*) informed Peshwa Savai Mādhavarao (*A. D. 1774-1795*) as follows :—

'The Divālī festival is celebrated for 4 days at *Kotā*,² when lacs of lamps are lighted. The Raja of *Kotā* during these 4 days gives a display of fire-works outside the premises of his capital. It is called " *दालूची लंका* " or " *Lankā of fire-works* ". During this display the image of *Rāṅgā* is prepared and kept in the centre of the show. Images of *Rākṣasas*, monkeys and a big image of *Hanūmān* are all prepared of gunpowder³. The tale of *Hanūmān* is then set fire to, and Hanūmān begins to fly in the air, setting fire to various houses in this *Lankā* of fireworks. Such a display is given by the Raja of *Kotā* during the Divālī Festival'.

The Peshwa ordered Mahādji to give a similar display of fire-works for his entertainment. Mahādji made all preparations within 15 days and the display was carried out on a dark night

¹ देशयात्री चरित्र by Krishnaji Vinayak Sohoni, ed. by K. N. Sane, A. B. Press, Poona, 1925, Page 149 (I have rendered the pertinent extract into English from the Marathi original). The author of this *Bukhar* was possibly born during the reign of Peshwa Savai Mādhava Rao (Vide p. 266 of *गुगीन चरित्रकोश* by S. Chitrava, Poona, 1937).

² Modern *Kotah* State in Rajputāna.

³ Vide my paper on *Guns and Gun-powder in India—A. D. 1400 onwards* in *Sir Denison Ross Volume*, ed. by P. K. Gode and S. M. Katre, pp. 117-124

before the Peshwa and his Sardars. The display took place at the foot of the *Parvatī* hill and was witnessed by the Peshwa and his Sardars from the *Parvatī* temple. It was a grand performance and was witnessed by the people of Poona in large numbers. "

The use of fire-works in the celebration of the *Divālī*, which is so common in India now, must have come into existence after about 1400 A. D. when gun-powder came to be used in Indian war-fare. It is necessary to record the history of the use of fire-works in *Divālī* celebrations prior to the Peshwa period.

In the references to *Divālī* in the *Hobson-Jobson* the earliest notice of the *Divālī* by a foreign observer is dated A. D. 1618. Let us now go backwards from this date. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*¹ (about A. D. 1590) there is an account of *Festivals* in which we find the *Divālī* described as follows :

" *Month of Kārtika*— The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The *thirteenth* is the *Dipālī* or row of lamps (Hind. *Divālī*). A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Śuklapakṣa* computation it is as above stated but by the *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa* (Hind. *Aghan*-Nov.-Dec.) and they, therefore, hold this festival on the 15th of the *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa* of *Kārtika*. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammadan) festival of *Shāb-i-barūt*. It begins on the 29th and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals re. the *Vaiśya* caste".²

Emperor Akbar " participated in the celebration of *Dipāvalī* or *Divālī*, the festival of lamps" (*Ain*, I, 216).³

From the 16th century we may now go to the 15th century and see how the *Hindu Divālī* was celebrated within the jurisdiction of the Vijayanagar empire. In this connection Dr. B. A. Saletore has collected and recorded the following information about *Festivals, Games and amusements* in his volumes on *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire* (1934). In Vol. II (p. 387) he observes as follows :—

" Another celebration which evoked admiration from foreign travellers was the *Dipāvalī* festival held in the month of *Kārtika*.

¹ Ed. by Jarrett, Vol. II, 1894, Page 320.

² " It is auspicious for all undertakings connected with commerce".

³ Vide p. 319 of *Ind. Histo. Quarterly*, XIII (June, 1937).

§ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

This commemorates the victory which Viṣṇu scored against the Asuras and Narakāsuras and since as they say it was won in the evening there is universal illumination of houses and temples in the land.¹

Conti thus describes the *Dīpāvali* festival:— "On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside of the roofs an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni which are kept burning day and night".²

People gave contributions to the temples also for the celebration of these festivals. In about A. D. 1443 Govanna and Ballana sons of Śrīraṅga Deva of Arāṇipura in Kadalūr made a grant for the *citra festival of lights* in the temple of Channakeśvara according to former custom.³ An inscription dated Śaka 1443 (A. D. 1521-22) informs us that Sadāśiva Nāyaka provided ghee for lamps during the festival of *Tirukkūratigai* to the temple of Br̥hadambā at Devikkapuran for the merit of the chief (svāmi) Tirumalai Nāyaka.⁴ In Śaka 1444 (1522-23) the daughter of Kannadiya Chief Devappudaiyar Marudarsār-Padaividū gave a gift of ghee for the same festival to the same temple."⁵

The inscriptional evidence about donations given by certain individuals for the expense of festival of lights or mere lights⁶ in temples of specific gods and goddesses does not appear to refer to *Divālī* festival as such.⁷ Conti's description of *Divālī* at Vijayanagar is, is however, sufficient for our purpose.

¹ Sri Kantaliyar, *IA*, XX, p. 430; Suryanarayan Rao, *The City*, p. 11. For an account of the *Dīpāvali* Festival, Wilson, *IA*, XXVI, p. 308; Gupte, *IA*, XXXII, pp. 237-239.

² Major India, p. 28; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 86.

³ *E. C. V.* p. 1, Hn. 82, p. 25.

⁴ 361 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top. List I. N. A.* 162 p. 49.

⁵ 362 of 1912; Rangachari, *ibid.* N. A. 163, p. 50. Read Pietro della Valle's description.

⁶ On p. 115 of his *Purāṇic Records* (Dacca, 1940) Dr. Hazra observes:— "The inscriptional evidences show that the gifts of lamps to shrines became popular in Southern India about the end of the 9th century A. D." [*Ep. Ind.* III, 1894-95, pp. 281, 284; V, 42-44 and 104-106; VII (1902-03) 133 ff. and 138 ff. and so on. *JASB*, LXXII (1903) 120].

⁷ My friend M. M. Principal V. V. Mirashi writes to me on 23-7-1945 "As for *Divālī*.....The one description that I can just now recall occurs in an inscription found in *Chhattisgarh*. It is not dated but another inscription of the same reign is dated V. S. 1570 (= A. D. 1514). The inscription is not published but I have read the verse as follows:—

(continued on the next page)

Students of the history of Indian art may be in a position to point out the representations of the *Divālī* festival in sculpture or painting. I may, however, record here one such representation of the *Jain Divālī*. It is found in the *Miniature Paintings*¹ of the *Jaina Kalpasūtra* executed in the Early Western Indian style) published by Norman Brown (Washington, 1934), p. 40, *Plate 25* Brown describes this painting as follows :—

“ *Fig. 54* (Heeramaneek Galleries, Newyork—MS of *Kalpa-sūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* with 87 miniatures, not dated—*Probably 16th Century*) — *The Festival of Lights*. KS, 128 (*Jacobi: Jaina Sūtras*, S. B. E., Vol. 22, Oxford, 1884, p. 266), On the night when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederated kings instituted an illumination on the *Posādha* which was a fast day. They said “ *Since the light of holy knowledge is gone*, let us make a material illumination.—Under a canopy are three males, probably typifying the 18 kings, holding torches. The scene bears the legend *दीवाली* (festival of lights) and Jacobi (J tr. 266n) says that the Jainas celebrate the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra with a festival of lights on the *New-Moon* of the month of *Kārttika*. ”

Some description of the *Divālī* as celebrated in the Deccan at *Kollhapur* in the *11th century* is found in the *story of King of Kollāpura* recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi* (Trans. by C. H. Tawney, R.A.S.B., Calcutta, 1901) p. 111. The author belonged to *Vardhamānapura* (*Vaḍḍhūn*) in *Gujarat* and

(continued from the previous page)

“ यस्म्यक् प्रतिकार्तिकम्प्रातिदिनं स्नात्वा द्वादश्यादरा-

द्रोदानंश्च ततः शृणोति महत्तं पुण्यं पुराणादिकम् ।

दीपानामपि लक्षमक्षयफलप्राप्त्यै प्रयच्छत्यसौ -

दुर्गाया निकटे महानयमतः श्री बाहरस्मापतिः ॥ ”

I am thankful to Prin. Mirashi for this valuable inscriptional reference.

¹ I had inquired of Dr. H. Goetz, Curator, Baroda Museum, if he could point out to me any paintings representing *Divālī* illuminations. In reply Dr. Goetz informs me in his letter of 19-12-45 :—

“ As to *Divālī* illustrations, I can only say that there are many Mughal miniatures in the Baroda Museum showing illuminations by many small oil lamps, such as it is the practice at *Divālī* but I am not sure whether this is the only festival where this is done ”

I take this opportunity of requesting other scholars to publish any information about the representations of *Divālī* either in painting or sculpture that may come to their notice.

(2) महादाई, the woman—disciple of Cakradhara, managed all the work connected with this *Divālī*.

(4) On the evening of the earlier day she stored sufficient water for bath of the entire party of the *Gosāvis*, who bathed next morning, getting up at dawn for this purpose. Plenty of oil was used for rubbing the bodies before this bath by the *Gosāvis* and other devotees of Cakradhara.

(5) After bath महादाई waved lights in a tray in front of these *Gosāvis* and others (वेवाळणी जाली) who then took betel, and pān (तांबोळ). Dinner was given to the party by महादाई, who was helped by another lady उमाई in this work.

(6) भाऊबीज was observed on the following day when महादाई acted as sister to all the *Gosāvis*. She prepared nice dishes for their dinner such as मोदक, आइत, लाडू, सेव etc.

The *Bhāu-bija* day observed by the *Gosāvis* is observed even to-day. It falls on *Kārttika Śuddha 2 (dvitīyā)* i. e. on the day following the *Divālī*. This festival is concerned with sisters who feast their brothers on this day. It is called *Yamadvitīyā* in Sanskrit and Hemādri (A. D. 1260) the contemporary of Cakradhara describes it in detail in his compendium called the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*.¹ This description is contained in an

¹ Ed. in *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1878—See *Vrata Khaṇḍa* Chap. VI, pp. 384—386.—The extract about यमद्वितीया व्रत from the *Bhaviṣṭyottara* reads as follows:—

“ कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां युधिष्ठिर ।
यमो यमुनया पूर्वं भोजितः स्वगृहे सदा ॥
द्वितीयायां महोत्सवं नारकीयाश्च तर्पिताः ।
पापेभ्योऽपि विमुक्तास्ते मुक्ताः सर्वनिबन्धनाः ॥
अंशिताश्चातिसंतुष्टाः स्थिताः सर्वे यदच्छया ।
तेषां महोत्सवो वृत्तः यमराष्ट्रमुखावहः ।
अतो यमद्वितीया सा प्राक्का लोके युधिष्ठिर ।
अस्यां निजगृहे पार्थ न भोक्तव्यमतो बुधेः ॥
स्नेहेन भगिनी हस्ताद्भोक्तव्यं पुष्टिवर्द्धनम् ।
दानानि च प्रदेयानि भगिनीभ्यो विधानतः ॥
स्वर्णालंकारवस्त्राणि पूजासत्कारभोजनैः । ”

In Rgvedi's book on *Āryan Festivals* already referred to by me the यमद्वितीया or भाऊबीज is described on pp. 297—298. He merely states that the story of यम and his sister यमुना is mentioned in the *Purāṇas* but does not give any exact reference to it.

extract from the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri. The practices prescribed in the extract are current at present in Mahārāṣṭra.

In a Kannaḍa Inscription¹ of A. D. 1119 (11th May) of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla there is a reference to *Dīpāvalī* day. (One) "Kāvarāja made a gift of one *gadyāṇa* out of the two *gadyāṇas* which the Mahājanas used to pay him, as a present on every *Dīpāvalī* day for the service of *Nileśvaradeva*".

I have already recorded references to *Divālī* from two Marathi sources viz. the *Jñāneśvarī* (A. D. 1290) and the *Līlācaritra* (C. A. D. 1250). I shall record another reference to *Divālī* in an astronomical work called the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*² by Śrīpati, which was composed about Śaka 961 (A. D. 1039) according to its editor the Mahārāṣṭra historian, Viśvanātha Kāshinātha Rajawade, who thinks that both the Sanskrit text and its Marathi commentary are the work of Śrīpati himself. The word दिवाळी occurs in the Marathi commentary on a Sanskrit stanza as will be seen from the following stanza :—

Page 95— "माघे पंचदशि कृष्णा नभस्ये च त्रयोदशी ।

तृतीया माघवे शुक्ला नवस्युर्जे युगादयः ॥ १३ ॥ "

The commentary on this stanza reads as follows :—

"माघमासिची अमावास्या शिरात्रि भाद्रपदमासचा कृष्णपक्षि त्रयोदशु अर्द्धपक्षि वैशाखमासि शुक्ला तृतीया : अक्षतृतीया : कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी दिवाळि वितल्या : या तिथि ४ युगादि म्हाणजे ॥ "

At present the *Divālī* day is the 1st day of Kārttika Śukla pakṣa, while according to Śrīpati (about A. D. 1030) it appears

¹ Vide *Kannaḍa Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency* (South Indian Inscriptions Texts, Vol. IX, Part I) ed. by Shamshastri and Lakshminārāyaṇa Rao, 1939, Page 195—Inscription No. 198.

See also *Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 337 — Yewur inscription of A. D. 1179 of the time of Sankamadeva. The date recorded gives (1) *Vikārin* year, (3) New Moon day of *Aśvayuja*, (3) *Somavāra*, and (4) महापर्व (allusion is apparently to दीपावलि according to Dr. Fleet (Vide p. 257 of *Kadambakula* by Prof. Moraes — दीपावलि extended from अश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शु. १.)

² Vide भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ ग्रन्थमाला (No. 8) — द्वितीय संमेलनवृत्त (शक १८३६ — 1914, Poona) — श्रीपतीकृत मराठी ज्योतिषरत्नमाला (शक १६१ सुमार) p. 95

to have been celebrated before “कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी”. I request the students of Indian Astronomy to throw some light on this question from the texts on Indian Astronomy.

In the Marathi poem by the Mahānubhāva poet Narendrakavi, called the रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर¹ composed in Śaka 1213 (A. D. 1292) we find the following references to the *Divālī* :—

Page 90— Description of *Dvārakā*

“ कीं आनंद-दिवाळियेचें तेजः ।

कीं आकाशीं जोतिचें जाळ हों काज ।

कीं गगनासि वाइलें भोज : यादव-प्रतापाचें ” ७१२

Page 94-- Description of *Vasanta* (spring-time)

“ कीं ते संभोग-सुखाची दिवाळी :

विरहिणी धंदेवाळिया होति काजळी

जित-इंद्रियें हारवीति तिये वेळीं : जूं वैराग्याचें ” ७३८

Prof. Kolate has explained the metaphor in this stanza pertaining to the *Divālī* referred to by the poet in his notes at the end of the volume. He explains the word धंदेवाळी as कोलीत or मशाल on page 141 while on page 230 धंदेवाळी is explained as lamps lighted during the *Divālī* festival on the top of a big heap of grass.²

While explaining the above reference to दिवाळी Prof. Kolate has drawn our attention to the following reference to दिवाळी in the *Jñāneśvarī* :—

Chap. VI (*Ovi* ३८९ - p. 135 of Bhide's edition)

“ तेसैं होय तिये मेळीं । मग सामरस्याचिया राउळीं ।

महामुखाची दिवाळी । जगेसि दिसे ॥ ३८९ ॥ ”

We have already pointed out two references to दिवाळी in *Jñāneśvarī*, to which the above one may now be added.

¹ Critically edited by Prof. V. B. Kolate, King Edward College, Amraoti, (अरुण प्रकाशन, Malkapur, Berar) 1940.

² Ibid, p. 230—“ धंदेवाळी = दिवाळीच्या दिवसांत गवताचा एक उंच भारा बांधतात आणि त्यावर दिवे लावतात ”

Before I proceed to note the references to *Divālī* in sources earlier than those referred to above I shall record its fairly detailed description in Sanskrit given in an encyclopaedic work called the आकाशभैरवकल्प which appears to be a reflection of the social and religious practices of the Vijayanagar Empire (between say A. D. 1450 and 1550).¹ This is a description of a royal² *Divālī* and hence stands in contrast with the *Divālī* celebrated by Cakradhara and his Gosāvis. This description reads as follows in the B. O. R. Institute MS No, 43 of 1925-26 of आकाश-भैरवकल्प :-

Page 217 — 67th Paṭala describing नरकचतुर्दशी.

“ श्री शिवः — अथान्यदाश्विने मासि कर्तव्यं कर्म राजभिः ।
 वक्ष्यामि सर्वपापघ्नमलक्ष्मीविनिवारकम् ॥ १ ॥
 रूपसौभाग्यसन्तानसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदम् ।
 साम्राज्यदं विजयदं विशेषेण महीभुजाम् ॥ २ ॥
 सर्वशत्रुक्षयकरं गंगास्नानफलप्रदम् ।
 अश्विने मासि कृष्णायां चतुर्दश्यान्तृपोत्तमः ॥ ३ ॥
 ब्राह्मे मुहुर्त उत्थाय कृतशीचक्रियः शुचिः ।
 प्रक्षाल्य पादावाचम्य दन्तधावनपूर्वकम् ॥ ४ ॥
 पुरोहितान्पुरस्कृत्य सभार्यान् द्विजपुंगवान् ।
 कांश्चिदाहूय संपूज्य तान् गंधकुसुमादिभिः ॥ ५ ॥
 दत्त्वा तद्विजवर्येभ्यः तांबूलानि फलानि च ।
 तैराशीरक्षतान् दत्तानादायांजलिना नृपः ॥ ६ ॥
 धृत्वा शिरसि चाभ्यंगनिमित्तं तैलमुत्तमम् ।
 दत्त्वा तद्विजमुख्येभ्यो नत्वा कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ७ ॥
 पुनः प्रस्थाप्य तान् विप्रान् तत्परं पृथिवीपतिः ।
 हेमपीठे समासीनः प्राङ्मुखः प्रयतः शुचिः ॥ ८ ॥
 नदत्सु पंचवायेषु बाह्यकक्षान्तरे ततः ।
 कण्ठकंकणया वध्वा द्रवल्गदुरोजया ॥ ९ ॥

¹ Vide my paper in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. V (1938) Part I, pp. 7-18.

² The *Sukranītisāra* (ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1882) chap. IV deals with लोकधर्मनिरूपण, in which the King is enjoined to build temples of several deities and arrange for their annual festivals :—

P. 372— “ एवंविधान् नृपो राष्ट्रे देवान् संस्थापयेत् सदा ।

प्रतिसंवत्सरे तेषां उत्सवान् सम्यगाचरेत् ॥ २०२ ॥ ”

स्वासीनः प्राङ्मुखो देवि वायघोषपुरस्सरम् ।
 अभ्यक्तो गन्धतैलेन स्नापितः कोष्णवारिणा ॥ ६ ॥
 धोतांबरधरः कालदेशे धृतवोर्ध्वपुण्ड्रकम् ।
 निर्वर्त्य नित्यकर्माथ तत् कालोचितमद्रिजे ॥ ७ ॥
 स्वेष्टदेवं समाराध्य गन्धपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः ।
 अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थं लक्ष्म्याश्च स्थैर्यसिद्धये ॥ ८ ॥
 लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्यै दत्त्वा दीपत्रयं नृपः ।
 सदाक्षिणान्द्विजातिभ्यस्तेन नीराजितः पुनः ॥ ९ ॥
 सपुत्रपौत्रस्सामात्यः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ।
 आस्थानशालामासाय राज्ञामास्थानवर्तिनाम् ॥ १० ॥
 सर्वेषां दर्शनं दत्त्वा यथांचितमगात्मजे ।
 गन्धकस्तूरिकादीनि दत्त्वा भूमिपुरंदरः ॥ ११ ॥
 मुहूर्तमात्रमासीनो भूपतिः कनकासने ।
 तत्परं तान्नृपवरान् प्रस्थाप्यान्तःपुरं नृपः ॥ १२ ॥
 प्रविश्य देवि साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं संपूज्य सादरम् ।
 कान्ताजनेन कर्पूरदीपिर्नीराजितोऽद्रिजे ॥ १३ ॥
 भुक्त्वा मुहूर्तं मुज्ज्वाऽथ सायंकाले समागते ।
 मलयुद्धादिकं दृष्ट्वा तत्परं तु निशामुखे ॥ १४ ॥
 नगरे देवनागारेष्वालयेषु सभासु च ।
 चत्वरेषु तु रम्येषु गोपुराट्टालकेषु च ॥ १५ ॥
 हर्म्येषु चातिरम्येषु सौधेष्वन्युन्नतेषु च ।
 विशालासु वरारोहे चन्द्रशालासु सर्वतः ॥ १६ ॥
 भूपालास्थानकूटेषु कस्यासु विविधासु च ।
 नाट्यशालासु रम्यासु वीथीषु च विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥
 विन्यस्य विविधान् दीपान् किंकरांस्तु कृतश्रमान् ।
 गन्धताम्बूलवस्त्राद्यैर्बहुमान्य महीपतिः ॥ १८ ॥
 तत्सर्वं दीपनिबहं श्रिये जातेति मन्त्रतः ।
 महालक्ष्म्यै नरपतिः समर्प्य तदनन्तरम् ॥ १९ ॥
 सिंहासने स्वकीयानि भूषणानि निधाय च ।
 जलपूर्णं स्वर्णकूर्चं पल्लवाद्यैरलंकृतम् ॥ २० ॥
 तण्डुलोपरि विन्यस्य तत्रावाह्य बलिं प्रभुम् ।
 वक्ष्यमाणप्रकरेण ध्यायेद्वाजा महाबलि ॥ २१ ॥

ध्यायेद्द्वलिलं महाकायं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ।
तपसाहृत देवेन्द्र वैभवं विष्णुवल्लभम् ॥ २२ ॥
खड्गचर्मधरं स्वर्णकान्तिकान्तासमन्वितम् ।
शुक्रायमात्यसाहितं दैत्यदानवसेवितम् ॥ २३ ॥
एवं ध्यात्वाचयेत्सम्यक् नाममन्त्रेण तं बलिम् ।
नतः पुष्पांजलिं दद्यात् वक्ष्यमाणस्तु नामभिः ॥ २४ ॥
बलीन्द्रः प्रह्लादपौत्रो विरोचनसुतस्ततः ।
महेन्द्रमर्दनो दानवाधीशो विष्णुभक्तकः ॥ २५ ॥
विभवप्रद इत्येतैर्दत्त्वा पुष्पांजलिं ततः ।
प्रार्थयेत्स्वाभिलषितं मन्त्रेणानेन पार्श्विवः ॥ २६ ॥
यथा त्वं सर्वलोकानामधिपोऽस्य सुरेश्वर ।
तथा मे कुरु सौभाग्यं यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥ २७ ॥
इति संप्रार्थ्य विप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्वित्तानुसारतः ।
सुवर्णं रजतं मुक्तामणींश्च विविधानपि ॥ २८ ॥
मित्राप्रबन्धमुख्येभ्यो दद्याद्धर्षसमन्वितः ।
कर्पूरशकलैस्सार्धं तांबूलानि विशेषतः ॥ २९ ॥
एवं कृत्वा नरपतिर्दीपावल्युत्सवं प्रिये ।
सर्वदनिश्च यत्पुण्यं यत्पुण्यमखिलाध्वरैः ॥ ३० ॥
तत्पुण्यं समवाप्नोति नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
एवं ते देवि कथितो दीपावलयोत्सवो महान् ॥ ३१ ॥
आयुरारोग्यविजयसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदः ।

इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये महाशैवतन्त्रे साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपीठिकायां दीपा-
वलयुत्सवस्वरूपकथनं नाममष्टषष्ठितमः पटलः ॥

The two chapters reproduced above contain quite a colourful picture of the *royal Divali* celebrated on two days viz. (1) आश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी and (2) कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्. This is *Divāli* as observed in the South of India between say A.D. 1400 and 1600. I now continue my story of *Divāli* and come to the extreme North of India and record a short description of *Divāli* given by a Muslim writer Abdul Rahamān in an *Apabhramśa* poem called the *संदेशरासक* ¹

¹ Ed. by Jinavijayaji and Bhayani, *Bhāratiya Vidyābhavan*, Bombay, 1945, page 71. In the *Preface* (p. 12) Muni Jinavijayaji infers that *संदेशरासक* "must have been composed during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārāpāla i. e. in the latter half of the 12th century or at the latest the first half of the 12th century of the Vikrama era."

in which we find a description of the month of *Kārttika* and the *Dīpāvalī* night (जोड़किखहि) as follows :—

“दितिय णिसि दीवालिय दीवय

णवससिरेहसरिस करि लीअय ।

मंडिय भुवण तरुण जोड़किखहि

महिलिय दिति सलाइय अकिखहि ॥ १७६ ॥”

Mr. Bhayani observes on p. 90 of his critical Introduction :—

“On the *Dīpāvalī* night mansions were decorated with lights resembling the crescent moon. Ladies applied collyrium to their eyes (176)”.

The commentary-called टिप्पनक on the above passage reads as follows :—

अथ कार्तिकवर्णनम्—“नार्यः दीपान् नवशशिरैस्त्वासदृशान् करे
गृहीत्वा निशि ददन्ति । तज्ज्योतिष्कैः दीपैः भुवनानि मण्डितानि ।
अन्यच्च नार्यः तेषां दीपानां कज्जलं शलाकया कृत्वा नेत्रेषु
ददन्ति ॥ १७६ ॥”

Illumination of houses on the *Divālī* night by Hindu ladies is aptly described by this Muslim writer who belonged to *Multān*¹ (मूलत्याण) in the Punjab. He was well versed in *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit* and *Apabhramśa*. He must have mastered these languages at some seat of Hindu Culture (perhaps it was Multan).

From the above description of *Divālī* in the Punjab of C. A. D. 1150 we now go to Alberuni's description of *Divālī* of C. A. D. 1030. In Alberuni's remarks² “on the Festivals and Festive days” of the Hindus he describes the *Divālī* festival as follows :—

“1st *Kārtika* or new moon's day, when the sun marches in Libra is called *Divālī*. Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel leaves and areca nuts; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear. The cause of this festival

¹ See p. 753 of *World Pictorial Gazetteer* by Hammerton — Multan stands on the river Chenab. It is about 190 miles S. W. of Lahore. Principal Buildings are two Mahomedan Shrines and the remains of an old Hindu temple. A great trading centre (shawls and carpets.)

² Vide p. 182 of Vol. II of *Alberuni's India*, ed. by E. C. Sachau, London, — Chap. LXXVI.

is that *Lakṣmī* the wife of *Vāsudeva* once a year on this day liberates *Bali*, the son of *Virocana*, who is a prisoner in the seventh earth. Therefore, the festival is called *Balirājya* i. e. the principality of *Bali*. The Hindus maintain that this time was a time for luck in *Kṛtayuga* and they are happy because the feast day in question resembles that time in the *Kṛtayuga*. ”

In our search for the lights of the *Divāli* we have traversed a period about 950 years and moved from the south of India to its extreme north. We stand on the threshold of antiquity at about 1000 A. D. ¹ and try to see if we can cross this threshold and notice any lights of the *Divāli* in the inner apartments of the Indian history.

About 90 years before Alberuni's description of the Hindu *Divāli* in North India we find a brilliant poetic description of *Divāli* in the *Yaśastilaka campū* of Somadevasūri composed in Śaka 881 (A. D. 959). About this description my friend Dr. V. Raghavan makes the following remarks in his *Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka-campū* ” (p. 379 of *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, May 1944 - Vol. I, part 3) :-

“ Pp. 597-99 (*Kāvya-mālā* 70. Bombay, 1901) — The *Mahānavamī* festival is followed by the *Dipotsava*. Houses are white-washed and decorated with white festoons ; music, merry-making and gambling go on ; the tops of houses are bright with rows of lights. This festival is in the *Śarat* season. ”

The text of the *Divāli* description reads as follows :—

“—इति विजयजेत्रायुधमागधावबोधितलक्ष्मीं महानवमीं^३ निर्वर्त्य ।

¹ In a Chinese poem on the *Lantern Festival* (of the first full Moon) by *Au-yang Hsin* (A. D. 1007-1072) we get a parallel of our *Divāli* (Vide p. 394 of *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, (November, 1939). I quote a stanza from this poem :-

“ Last year at the *Lantern Festival*
The flower-market lights were bright as day,
When the moon mounted to the tops of the willows,
Two lovers kept their tryst after the yellow dusk ”

³ The महानवमी festival was celebrated on a huge scale during the time of the Vijayanagar Empire. It is called नवरात्र at present. It begins on आश्विन शुक्ल प्रतिपत् and ends on आश्विन शुक्ल ९, followed by शुक्ल १० which is विजय-वशमी (वसरा), which is again followed by the *Divāli* on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् (See p. 267-284) of आर्योच्चा सणाचा इतिहास by *Rgvedi*.

तथा--

हंसावली द्विगुणकेतुसितांशुकश्रीः

पद्मावतंसरमणीरमणीयसारः ।

प्रासादसारितसुधाद्युतिदिमादिको

दीपोत्सवस्तव तनोतु मुदं महीश ॥ ४६२ ॥

यूतोन्मादितकामिनीजितधृतप्राणेशचाटूत्कटः

क्रीडाद्वारविलासिनीजनभवद्भूषाविकल्पोद्भटः ।

आतोयध्वनिमङ्गलारवभरव्याजृम्भिताशामुखः

प्रीतिं पूर्णं मनोरथस्य भवत. पुष्यात्प्रदीपोत्सवः ॥ ४६३ ॥

आभान्त्यखर्वशिखराग्रविटङ्कपालि-

दीपावली युतिधृतपुरसोधवन्धाः ।

प्रन्यङ्गसंगतमहौषधिदीपदेहा-

स्त्वां सेवितुं कुलनगा इव दत्तयात्राः ॥ ४६४ ॥

इति सूनासूक्तसूचितावसरां दीपोत्सवश्रियं चानुभूय । etc. "

From the above description of *Divāli* by a Southern writer of C. A. D. 950 we go to a Kashmirian text "not later than 6th or 7th century A. D." viz. the नीलमतपुराण¹ in which I find the following description of *Divāli* :—

Page 42 (Lahore Edition, 1924)—

तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्तव्या सुखसुमिका ॥ ५०५ ॥

पञ्चदश्यां यथा विप्र तथा मे गदतः शृणु ।

तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालानुरजनं दिना ॥ ५०६ ॥

सूर्ये त्वस्तमनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम् ।

दीपवृक्षास्ततो देयाः देवतायतनेषु च ॥ ५०७ ॥

चतुष्पथस्मशानेषु नदीपर्वतवैश्वसु ।

वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु चत्वरैष्वापणेषु च ॥ ५०८ ॥

वस्त्रैश्चैवापणाः सर्वे कर्तव्याश्चोपशोभिताः ।

दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम् ॥ ५०९ ॥

स्वलंकृतैश्च भोक्तव्यं द्विजेन्द्र नववाससा ।

सुहृद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः सार्धं बंधुमिश्रानुयायिभिः ॥ ५१० ॥

¹ Ed. by Ram Lal and Zaddoo, Lahore, 1924 — p. 7 of Introduction. — See also Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1927) Vol. I, p. 583 — Kalhana (about 1148 A. D.) drew on this Purāṇa. He regarded it as a venerable Purāṇa. " It must be several centuries earlier than Kalhana's work " (राजतरङ्गिणी).

ततः प्राप्ते द्वितीयेद्वि स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलंकृतैः ।
 कीदृशितव्यं तथा द्यूतैः श्रोतव्यं गीतवादितम् ॥ ५११ ॥
 विशेषवच्च भोक्तव्यैः पूर्वोक्तैस्तेजनेस्सह ।
 तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ॥ ५१२ ॥
 तस्यां रात्रौ तु कर्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं मुशोभितः ।
 गन्धर्वस्त्रस्तथा धूपैः रत्नैश्चैवाभिलंकृतम् ॥ ५१३ ॥
 दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
 दयिताभिश्च सहितैः तैर्नया सा निशा भवेत् ॥ ५१४ ॥
 पूज्या नूतनवासोभिः मुहूर्त्संबंधिर्बांधवाः ।
 ब्राह्मणा भृत्यवर्गाश्च चन्द्रदेव यथाविधि ॥ ५१५ ॥
 इति नी० कार्तिकामायां दीपमालावर्णनम् ।”

The above passage corresponds to verses 398 to 407 in the Critical Edition of the *Nilamata* by K. S. J. M. de Vreede published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1936 (pp. 36-37).

From the description of *Dīpamālā* in the *Nilamata Purāṇa* of Kashmir composed in the “6th or 7th century A. D.” we turn to the play *Nāgānanda*¹ of Śrī Harsa, who is supposed to be identical with Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, the reputed author of two other plays viz. *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*, who ruled between A. D. 606 and 648. In Act IV of *Nāgānanda* I find a reference² to *Divālī* in the following extract :—

“ प्रतिहार--अहमपि महाराजविश्वावसुना समादिष्टः । यथा सुनन्द
 गच्छ मित्रावसुं ब्रूहि । अस्मिन् दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे मलय-
 वस्या जामातुश्चेतदुत्सवानुरूपं यत्किञ्चित् प्रदीयते । तदा-
 गत्य निरूप्यताम् इति । तद्वच्छतु राजपुत्रीसकाशमार्यः ।
 अहमपि युवराजमित्रावसोरानयनाय गच्छामि ।
 (इति निष्क्रान्ती)

In their notes³ on the expression “ दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे ” the editors observe: “ This seems to be a festival held on the first day of

¹ Ed. by G. B. Brahme and S. M. Paranjpe.

² Ibid. pp. 61-62.

³ Ibid. Notes, p. 51.

the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*¹ and celebrated with illuminations, our *Divāli*." I think the cumulative effect of the history of *Divāli* reconstructed by me so far will warrant the above identification of दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव with our *Divāli* festival.

All modern annotators and editors² of the *Nāgānanda* equate "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव" with *Divāli* festival but the commentary³ of Śivārāma explains the expression with the remarks: प्रतिपदुत्सवे स्थालीपाकाख्ये. I cannot say if the *Divāli* was known as स्थालीपाक-उत्सव in ancient or mediaeval India. In this connection I note here some points about the origin of the *Divāli* festival recorded by "Rgvedi"⁴ in his book on *Aryan Festivals*⁴ already referred to by me. These points are briefly as follows :-

(1) The present दीपावलि महोत्सव is a unification and transformation of three पाकयज्ञs v. z. (i) पार्वण, (ii) आश्वयुजी and (iii) आग्रयण.

(2) पार्वण appears to have been observed on आश्विन वद्य ३० in ancient times as a पाकयज्ञ in honour of the ancestors.

(3) आश्वयुजी was observed in ancient times on the आश्विन पौर्णिमा. It pertained to agriculture, the presiding deity of which was सीता.

(4) आग्रयण (नवाक्षोष्टि) was observed on मार्गशीर्ष पौर्णिमा. It indicated the closing of the संवत्सर.

(5) In course of time कार्तिक was fixed upon as the first month of the विक्रम संवत् during the reign of विक्रमादित्य, the founder of this

¹ Mr. R. N. Mehta in his *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay, 1939, pp. 354-355) deals with sports and festivals. In this connection he refers to (2) कार्तिक festival on the night of the Full Moon (कार्तिकी पूर्णिमा) (2) आश्विन - night of Full Moon (चातुमासिनी फोल्ड) There is no reference in Mehta's description of these festivals to any display of lamps. (See J. I., pp. 499-500-G. 143; II, p. 372, V, pp. 212-214; and J. VI, pp. 221-222, G. 947, 949, 953 (उत्तमो उत्सवो)).

² Krishnashastri Chiplunkar in his Marathi translation of *Nāgānanda* (Bombay, 1865) p. 105, translates the expression "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" as "दिवाळीचे सणाचे दिवशी" — Principal R. D. Karmarkar in his Edition of *Nāgānanda* (Poona, 1919) p. 50 of Notes, observes:— "In the introductory scene from the conversation of the कञ्चुकी and प्रतीहार we learn that red garments have to be presented for ten days after marriage according to the custom of the time to the bride and the bride-groom and also that विशाख wants to make a suitable present to the newly wedded pair at the approaching *Dīpāvali* festival".

³ Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, *Trivandrum S. Series*, 1917, page 187.

⁴ आर्यवेदा सणांचा इतिहास, Bombay, 1916, pages 290-293.

era. The custom of celebrating the *Divālī* in this month in association with the other festivities of the New year's beginning must have given the *Divālī* its present form.

The above hypothesis about the origin and development of the modern *Divālī* festival needs to be substantiated by evidence. Its author has not recorded any convincing evidence in its support to compel our acceptance of it.

Our story of *Divālī* as revealed by datable literary evidence has so far come to C. A. D. 600. If the दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव mentioned in the *Nāgānanda* definitely means the *Divālī* we can easily take its antiquity at least upto A. D. 500, as national festivals have always a long tradition behind them.

To go backwards from A. D. 500 is now a difficult task and I earnestly invite brother-scholars to point out from early sources any references to or descriptions of the *Divālī* which can establish the antiquity of this national festival at least for 2000 years, if not more.

Hemacandra in his *Deśināmamālā* ² (III, 43) mentions a *Deśi* word "जम्बरती" (= पक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाली or दीपालिका. If this explanation is correct we can easily take back the antiquity of *Divālī* to the time ² of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, which mentions पक्षरात्रि in its list of festivals, as pointed out by Mr. T. N. Ray in his delightful article on "The Indoor and out-door Games of Ancient India" (Vide p. 244 of *Proceedings of*

¹ My friend Mr. M. Govind Pai of Manjeshvar (South Kanara) states in a private communication that प्रतिपत् in "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" clearly refers to कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् because of the reference to शरत्तमय in the following lines which are introduced by the poet in the same context:-- नायकः- मित्रावसो पश्य पश्य शरत्तमय-पाण्डुभिः पयोद्वपटलैः प्रावृत्ताः प्रलेयाचलशिखरभ्रियमुद्गन्ति एते मलयाचल-सानवः " [These peaks of the मलय mountain, spread over by the veils of clouds, white on account of autumn, possess the beauty of the peaks of the *Himālaya* (प्रलेयाचल)].

² Ed. by Rāmānujasvāmī in *B. S. Series* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1938) p. 148.

Example:-- मणिवलएहि कुणन्ती जंघाछेअभि जम्बरती व ।

जणोहणाय वि तुमं णि सि जच्छं देण किं डरसि ॥ १५ ॥

² About 100 A. D.-Keith assigns the *Kāmasūtra* to C. 500 A. D. Mr. Ray accepts the date "beginning of the Christian era" for the work.

the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939). Mr. Ray states that the festivals यक्षरात्रि, कौस्तुभजागर and सुवसन्तक are termed माहिमनी or having got a noble purpose and are universal and the rest are देश्य or provincial. About यक्षरात्रि Mr. Ray¹ observes :-

"Yakṣarātri is performed during the night of the New Moon Night of Kārttika. [Some are of opinion that यक्षरात्रि is the Full Moon Night of Kārttika. But I don't think that they are correct. Vide the commentary by Ramacandra Sāstri on *Kaṇḍarvacūḍāmaṇi* (I, 4. 42)]. This night is also called सुखरात्रि.² People generally gamble during this night. This is the night when the Divālī festival is celebrated nowadays almost every where in India. In Bengal and in some parts of India goddess Kālī is worshipped during the night. The New Moon and Full Moon Nights are specially fixed for the worship of Kālī and Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth. The Divālī festival is performed in honour of this goddess in most parts of India. The day following this night is called वृत्तप्रतिपत् which is the first day of the Indian calendar of the Vikrama era. Yakṣarātri is the last night of the year. It is said that Bali, the king of the nether world ascended the throne on this day."

Hemacandra's equation: "जखरनी (यक्षरात्रि) = दीवाली or दीपालिका" is a good starting point to hunt up the history of the Divālī in sources on either side of the Christian era, especially because the *Kāmasūtra* mentions the यक्षरात्रि among three major festivals (माहिमन्यः explained by Yaśodhara as "महिमा महत्त्वं तद्विद्यते यासात्"). If more evidence can be gathered about the यक्षरात्रि festival, we shall be in a position to clarify the problem of the origin of Divālī.

¹ Mr. Ray states in foot-note 16 of his article :- "I have dealt with festivals in my Presidential address on the occasion of *Dipālī Utsab* (1346 B. S.) at Dinajpur, which is going to be published very soon," I have not seen this address.

² The commentator Yaśodhara in his *Jayamaṅgala* comment. on the *Kāmasūtra* observes (p. 55 of *Kāmasūtra*, ed. by Kedārnāth, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900) :-

"यक्षरात्रिरिति । सुखरात्रिः । यक्षरात्रौ तत्र सान्निधानात् । तत्र प्रायशः लोकस्य द्युनकीडा । एता माहिमान्यः कीडाः । देश्या आह--
सङ्कारभञ्जिका" etc.

At the beginning of his article on Games referred to above Mr. Ray observes : —

“ It is *not possible to give a chronological account of these games.* There are certain games still prevalent in India, which can be traced as far back as the *Buddhist, Epic, and even the Vedic* period So we shall arrange the games according to their nature and shall try to give their history as far as practicable ”.

I am firmly convinced that without a chronological account of our festivals we cannot understand their history. In the present paper I have planted some mile-stones of the *chronology of Divālī* from about A. D. 100 to A. D. 1945 as will be seen from the following tabular statement :—

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
Between A. D. 50 and 400	कामसूत्र mentions यक्षरात्रि as an important festival — According to Hemacandra जक्षरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि) is equal to दीवाली or दीपालिम्हा — यशोधर (on कामसूत्र) explains यक्षरात्रि as सुखरात्रि, attended with यक्षs and वृत्तक्रीडा. He calls it a माहिमनी festival as opposed to देइय. Both these terms are mentioned by the कामसूत्र.	The कामसूत्र gives its list of festivals as यक्षरात्रि, कौमुदीजागर, सुवसन्तक etc. Is any chronological order intended in this list?
A. D. 606-648	Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj refers to दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव in his play नागानन्द which is equal to modern D as it has a reference to शरत्समय mentioned in the same context — The custom of presenting garments to the bride and bridegroom at this festival referred to in नागानन्द has its parallel in the modern custom of honouring the Son-in-law with feast and presents on the first D after marriage.	प्रतिपद of शरत्समय.

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
Between A. D. 500 and 800	नीलमतपुराण composed in Kashmir describes in detail the दीपमाला festival with the following features:— (1) All-round illuminations, (2) hoisting up of festoons, (3) Feasting with Brahmins, relatives and dependents, (4) Gambling, Music, (5) Passing the night in the company of ladies, (6) Wearing of rich apparel and jewels, (7) Presenting new garments to friends, relatives, Brahmins and the servants.	पञ्चदशी —“कार्तिक अमायां दीपमाला वर्णनम्” according to colophon.
A. D. 959	सोमदेवसूरी in his यशस्तिलकचम्पू composed during the reign of the राष्ट्रकूट King रुण्ण (III) of मान्यखेड (Malkhed) describes दीपोत्सव with the following features:— (1) Houses, white-washed and decorated with white festoons, (2) Merry-making in the company of ladies, (3) Music, (4) Gambling, (5) Tops of houses bright with rows of lights, (5) Indicated by सूनासूक्त (“सूनासूक्त-सूचितावसरां दीपोत्सवश्चियं”).	Performed after the महानवमी festival (महानवमी निर्वर्ण्य).
A. D. 1030	The astronomer श्रीपति refers to दिवाळी in his Marathi commentary on his own ज्योतिषरत्नमाला.	Prior to कार्तिक शुक्लनवमी.
A. D. 1030	Alberūnī in his “Enquiry into India” (Tahkik-i-Hind) gives a detailed description of D with the following features:— (1) name “Dibālī”, (2) Festive dress, (3) making presents of betel leaves and areca nuts, (4) Merry-	“1st Kārtika or New Moon's day when the Sun marches in Libra”.

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	making, (5) visiting temples and giving alms, (6) All-round display of lamps at night, (7) cause of D given as the Liberation of <i>Bali</i> on this day by <i>Lakṣmī</i> , wife of <i>Vāsudeva</i> , (8) a time for luck— <i>Alberūnī</i> entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Gaznī.	
A. D. 1088-1172	हेमचन्द्र of Gujarāt refers in his <i>देशीनाममाला</i> to “अक्षरत्नी” (यक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाली or दीपालिका.	
Before A. D. 1159	त्रिकाण्डशेष of पुरुषोत्तमदेव mentions यक्षरात्रि=दीपाली (1. 1. 108) (see यक्षरात्रि in St. Petersburg Sans. Wörterbuch)	
A. D. 1100-1200	Abdul Rahman of Multan in the Punjab in his <i>Apabhramśa</i> work संदेशरासक describes the <i>Dipāvalī</i> night (जोहखिलहि) with the following features :— (1) Illumination of mansions by ladies all-round. (2) Ladies applying the collyrium of these lamps to their eyes. (3) Resemblance of the Divālī-lamps to the crescent moon.	शरत् Season— कार्तिक वर्णन.
A. D. 1119	A <i>Kannāḍa</i> inscription of the Madras Presidency of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla refers to a gift of one <i>gadyūṇa</i> for the service of नीलेश्वर देव by one Kāvarāja on a महापर्व, New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार.	New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार called महापर्व, which Dr. Fleet regards as दीपावलि (which extended from अश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शुक्ल १).

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
A. D. 1290.	<p>The Mahārāstra Saint ज्ञानेश्वर refers to दिवाळी in his ज्ञानेश्वरी in three different metaphors—The illuminations of the Divālī are compared to the light of spiritual knowledge.</p>	
C. A. D. 1250	<p>In the Marathi Mahānubhāva text लीळाचरित्र a long description is given about the celebration of <i>Divālī</i> by चक्रधर, the founder of this sect and his Gosāvi pupils. Features of this description are :—</p> <p>(1) Plenty of water stored and used for the Divālī bath, taken by the <i>Gosāvis</i>.</p> <p>(2) Use of oil for rubbing the bodies before this bath.</p> <p>(3) Waving of lights (बोवाळणी) before the Gosāvis by the woman-disciple of चक्रधर.</p> <p>(4) Preparation of choice dishes for dinner such as मोदक, लाडू, सेव etc. on the भाऊबीज (यम-द्वितीया) day following the Divālī day.</p> <p>This was a Saint's <i>Divālī</i> without any merry-making of the aristocratic variety. It was quite modest and simple.</p>	
C. A. D. 1260	<p>हेमाद्रि in his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (व्रत खण्ड) describes the यमद्वितीया (or भाऊबीज) festival. In this connection he quotes a passage from भविष्योत्तर containing the story of यम and his sister यमुना, who feasted him at her house. Since that time this festival was observed by brothers and sisters.</p>	<p>कार्तिक शुद्ध द्वितीया.</p>

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
A. D. 1305	<p>मेरुतुङ्ग of Gujarat in his प्रबन्ध- चिन्तामणि narrates the story of Kolhāpur king who was contem- porary of king Siddharāja of Gujarat (A. D. 1093-1143). In this connection he refers to the <i>Divālī</i> festival at Kolhapur with the following features :-</p> <p>(1) Worship of the महालक्ष्मी goddess of Kolhapur by the king's wives on the <i>Divālī</i> night.</p> <p>(2) Oblation of gold jewels and camphor offered to महालक्ष्मी on the Divālī night by an officer of Siddharāja.</p> <p>(3) Gift of a magic garment to महालक्ष्मी by the above officer.</p>	<i>Divālī</i> night.
A. D. 1420	<p><i>Niccoloi Conti</i>, the Italian tra- veller who visited Vijayanagar about A. D. 1420 or 1421 has described the festivals that were celebrated at Vijayanagar such as वर्षप्रतिपदा, महानवमी, दीपा- वली and होंळी (Vide p. 252 of विजयनगर स्मारक ग्रंथ, B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1936-37, article on विजय- नगर आणि परकीय प्रवासी by R. M. Atlavale). He describes the <i>Divālī</i> lamps kept burning day and night within temples and on their roofs.</p>	
Between A. D. 1450 and 1600	<p>The आकाशभैरवकल्प, an ency- clopaedic work dealing with social religious and political life, possibly of Vijayanagar Empire describes in two chapters how a king should observe the Divālī</p>	<p>अश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी or नरक चतुर्दशी and कार्तिक सिते पक्षे प्रतिपद .</p>

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	<p>on नरकचतुर्दशी and कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्. The features of the नरकचतुर्दशी महोत्सव are :-</p> <p>(1) This festival brings victory, progeny, happiness, prosperity etc. to kings. It is called साम्राज्यद (giver of Sovereignty).</p> <p>(2) Early morning bath, (3) Worship of <i>Purohitas</i> and other eminent Brahmins.</p> <p>(4) At the bath the king's wife should anoint him with oil and <i>mallas</i> (wrestlers) should bathe him with warm water. This is called मङ्गलस्नान.</p> <p>(5) King should worship his special deity and light three lamps before it.</p> <p>(6) Then he should go to the आस्थानकूट (assembly hall) duly attired with sword, helmet, ornaments etc. and sit on the royal throne (सिंहासन) with all his servants and officers in attendance. He should receive here the members of the assembly consisting of tributary princes, learned Brahmins, poets, singers, actors, dancers, astrologers, and courtezans. This reception should be according to the status of each class of the assembly. The King should then distribute presents in the form of garments. The distribution of <i>tūmbūla</i> etc. should bring the function to a close.</p>	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	(7) The King should then go to the अन्तःपुर and there in the company of beautiful ladies, his sons and grand-sons etc. finish his dinner.	
	(8) In the evening he should witness, in the company of tributary princes etc. a display of बाणविद्या (fire-works) followed by a dramatic performance in the नाट्यशाला accompanied with singing etc.	
	(9) He should then retire to the अन्तःपुर, take his meals with the members of the house-hold and later pass the night in the company of his chief queen (महिषी).	
	The features of the दीपावली proper on the following day (कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपदा) are:—	
	(1) Bath etc. as on the previous day.	
	(2) Worship of भास्कर (Sun),	
	(3) offering three lamps to लक्ष्मीनारायण for averting अलक्ष्मी and establishing लक्ष्मी on a secure basis (स्थायीसिद्धये).	
	(3) Holding a gathering in the आस्थानकुट as on the previous day.	
	(4) Retiring to अन्तःपुर and there worshipping साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी.	
	(5) After-noon rest, followed by entertainments like महलुद्ध.	
	(6) Illuminations all-round in the capital in temples, assem-	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	<p>bly-halls, terraces, streets and squares, theatres etc.</p> <p>(7) Honouring the royal servants with <i>tāmbūla</i> and garments after their labours (कृतश्रमान्) for the success of the Divālī celebrations.</p> <p>(8) Dedication of the entire illuminations (दीपनिबह) to महालक्ष्मी</p> <p>(9) Worship of बली, son of विरोचन and grandson of प्रह्लाद.</p> <p>(10) Distribution of gifts of gold etc. to Brahmins, relatives etc. with a joyous heart.</p> <p>Thus terminates the दीपावली-उत्सव contributing to long life, health, victory, prosperity and knowledge.</p>	
A. D. 1590	<p><i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> of Abul Fazl describes <i>Divālī</i>.</p> <p><i>Features</i> :- (1) Greatest festival of the Vaisya caste, (2) Illuminations—difference in calculating the date of <i>D.</i>—celebrated on कार्तिक शुक्ल १३ and कृष्ण १५, (3) Lamps are lit as on the Muslim festival <i>Shab-i-barāt</i>, (4) Dicing and other strange traditions.</p>	<p><i>Kārttika कृष्णपक्ष १५</i> and शुक्लपक्ष १३.</p>
A.D. 1613, 1623, 1651, 1671, 1673, 1690, 1820, 1843, 1883.	<p>European references to <i>Divālī</i> recorded in Hobson - Jobson.</p> <p><i>Features</i> :- (1) Feasting, (2) Festival in honour of विष्णु, (3) Sending presents to all concerned, (4) Bania's Divālī, (5) Grand festival season, (6) Fireworks (1820), (7) Worship of लक्ष्मी, (8) Floating of lamps in river, (9) Splendid Divālī at Benares (1888).</p>	

In the foregoing study of the history of the *Diwali* festival I have confined my evidence as far as possible to non-Purāṇic sources, as the chronology of the Purāṇic sources is not definite, I hope now that many of my friends who have made a close study of the Purāṇic sources will throw more light on this festival of lights by linking up the Purāṇic sources with the chronology of this festival as recorded in the present paper for a period of about 2000 years from the beginning of the Christian era upto the present day.¹

¹ Since this paper was drafted I have sent for publication in the *Journal of the Dr. Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad* a paper on "The *Sukhasaptikā* of the *Nilamata Purāṇa* (between A. D. 500 and 800) and the *Āditya Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri (C. A. D. 1260) and its relation to the modern *Divālī* festival" — I have further received the following replies to my inquiries about *Divālī*, which would be useful for further investigation in this field:—

(I) Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane writes on 22-1-1946:—

"The 4th volume of my work (*History of Dharmaśāstra*) will deal with festivals and *vratas*. Therefore, so far I have written nothing about the *Divālī* festival. From my notes I find that Hemādri quotes स्कन्दपुराण and भाविष्यपुराण for lighting lamps in *Divālī*; similarly the मदनपारिजात quotes वृद्धमनु, the विवेकाक्षीय quotes ब्राह्मपुराण. The निर्णयसिन्धु also quotes these and the कृत्य-रत्नाकर (pp. 386-395 and p. 413) has something to say about आश्विनरात्रिमहोत्सव and यमद्वितीया".

(II) Dr. A. P. Karmarkar who is now working on Purāṇic Culture at the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, has kindly sent me the following references to *Dīpāvalī* from the *Purāṇas*, on 1-2-1946:—

(1) पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखंड, chap. 122); (2) वामनपुराण (chapter 92 — verses 53 ff. — Note also the दशवतार in the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण); (3) स्कन्द-पुराण (वैष्णव खण्ड — कार्तिकमासमाहात्म्य, chapters 9 ff.).

(III) Dr. A. N. Upadhye (Kolhapur) writes about Jain *Divālī* on 26-1-1946:—"The *Divālī* is the most important festivity with the Jainas. Lord Mahāvira attained Mokṣa on the कार्तिक वद्य अमा, (in the South आश्विन वद्य अमा). The Jainas practically all over India celebrate the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira by illuminating lights on the night of the New Moon in the month of *Kārttika*; the कल्पसूत्र remarks: "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" (see S. B. E. Vol. 22, pp. 264-266). The era of महावीर निर्वाण begins from कार्तिक शुक्ल १. The remark of the कल्पसूत्र is the starting point for our study".

I am thankful to all the above friends for their helpful and prompt replies to my queries about *Divālī*.

My present study of the history of the Divāli has been prepared in space-time context. The time-context has been made sufficiently clear in the table given above. As regards the space-context I may observe that the sources used in the present study pertain to the celebration of the *Divāli* from Kashmir to Madras at such places as Multan, Kashmir, Kanauj, Delhi, Agra, Gujarāt, Chhattisgarh (C. P.) Mahārāṣṭra, Poona, Mālkhed (in Nizam's Dominions), Vijayanagar, etc. This space-context shows the national, character of the *Divāli* from very early times. Yaśodhara, therefore is right in putting the *Yakṣarā'ri* (or *Divāli*) in the category of *Māḥimānī* (national) festivals mentioned by the *Kāmasūtra* as distinguished from the *deśya* (provincial or regional) festivals.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

10. *Different Types of Deposits*¹

BY

PROF. DR. LUDWIK STERNBACH (Poland)

Abbreviations:— *Amar.*— *Amarakośa* ed. by Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris 1839; *Āp.*— *Āpastambīya Dharmaśāstra* ed. by G. Buehler, Bombay, Sanskrit Series 1892-94; *B.*— *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra* ed. by E. Hultzsch in "Abhandlungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VIII., Leipzig 1884; *Brh.*— *Brhaspati Smṛti*, reconstructed, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Gaokwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda 1941; *Col.*— *Digest on Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions with a Commentary* by J. Terapanacanana trans. by H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. I. London 1891; *Dh.*— *Dharma-kośa*, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, *Vivādapadām* ed. by L. Joshi, 1938; *G.*— *Gautamīya Dharmaśāstra*. The Institutes of Gautama ed. by A. F. Stenzler, London 1876; with *Maṣārī Bhāṣya* ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore 1917; ed. by M. N. Dutt in the "Dharmaśāstra Texts" Vol. I Calcutta 1903; *Hal.*— *Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā* ed. by Th. Aufrecht, London 1861; *Hem.*— *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* ed. by O. Boettlingk and Ch. Rieu, St. Petersburg 1847; *K.*— *Kaṭīlyā's Arthaśāstra* ed. by R. Shama Sastry, Oriental Library Publications Sanskrit Series No. 37 / 64, Mysore 1924; *Kath.*— *Kathāsaritsāgara* ed. by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1839; *Kāty.*— *Kātyāyana Smṛti* ed. by P. V. Kane, Bombay 1933; *Mbh.*— *Mahābhārata* ed. Calcutta 1824-1839; *Mn.*— *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* with *Kūllūkabhāṭṭa*, Nirn. Sag. Press, Bombay 1886; ed. by Pandya, Bombay 1913; *Mṛcc.*— *Mṛcchakaṭika* ed. by N. B. Godbole, Bombay 1896; *N.*— *Nārada Smṛti* with *Nārada bhāṣya* of Asabhāya ed. by J. Jolly in Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1885; *Pañc.*— *Pañcatantra* ed. by J. G. L. Kosegarten, Bonn 1848; *Ragh.*— *Raghuvamśa* ed. by A. F. Stenzler, London 1832; *Rāj.*— *Rājataranīṇi* ed. by M. A. Stein, Bombay 1892; *Rām.*— *Rāmāyaṇa* ed. by A. W. V. Sohlegel, Bonn 1838; *Śāk.*— *Kālidāsa's Śākuntala* ed. by C. Boettlingk, Bonn 1842; *Sar.*— *Sarasvatī-Vilāsa* ed. by Rev. Th. Foulkes, London 1881; *Smṛ. C.*— *Smṛti-Candrikā* by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore 1916; *Sukr.*— *Sukranītisāra* ed. by Oppert, Madras 1882; *Vās.*— *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* ed. by A. A. Fuehrer in "Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" No. XXIII. Poona 1930; *Vi.*— *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* ed. by M. N. Dutt in the "Dharmaśāstra Texts" Vol. II Calcutta 1909; *Viv.*— *Vivādacintāmaṇi* from *Vācaspatimīśravivacarita* (Rāmacandraavidyāvagīśasādhitaḥ) 1894; *VM.*— *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* of Bhāṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha ed. by P. V. Kane, 1926; *Y.*— *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra* ed. by A. F. Stenzler (*Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch*) Berlin-London, 1849. with *Mitākṣarā's* (*Mit.*) Commentary of Viṣṇūśeṣvara by W. L. S. Panśikar in Nirn. Sagar Press, Bombay 1936; with *Viramītrodaya* (*Vir.*) Caukhambā Saṁskṛta-Granthamālā; with *Aparārka's* Commentary in *Anandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvali* (*Apar.*).

¹ See also my No. 11 "Law of Deposits"

1

1. *Contract of Deposit* -

Deposit is a contract whereby one person delivers a movable thing to another for gratuitous safe custody. *Depositum* as well as *commodatum*, *mandatum* etc. are species of *fiducia*.

2. *Depositum - Fiducia*

The *Smṛtis* very often use the word "*depositum*", whilst meaning *fiducia*. We find several sorts of deposits in the *Smṛtis*. Some of them are in reality specific varieties of deposits (*e. g.* sealed deposits, open deposits, etc.), but by far the greater number are not deposits from the point of view of the theory of law, but some specific contracts in which *fiducia* plays a prominent role. However, as the *Smṛtis* and their commentators class these relative, specific agreements among contracts of deposit, therefore, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian Law, we must consider them as contracts of deposits, although from the general point of view of law these contracts have nothing to do with the contracts of deposits, or are only slightly connected with these contracts.

3. *Synonyms*

In the Sanskrit nomenclature we find three most important synonyms for the word deposit *i. e.* निक्षेप, उपनिधि and न्यास. From the legal point of view the difference between these three synonyms is very slight. Other words are also known for the designation of the deposit.

Hemacandra in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*¹ quotes these three synonyms,² Halāyudha in *Abhidhānaratnamālā*³ quotes निक्षेप and उपनिधि as synonyms⁴ and Amarakośa⁵ mentions उपनिधि and न्यास as synonyms.⁶

II

A. *Open deposits*4. *Quotations*

The word निक्षेप from नि° (down, into) + °क्षिप् (to throw, to lay, to cast), the laid down, the delivered, the preserved, the entrusted *i. e.* a deposit, is used in Mn., N., Brh., Vi., Vir., VM. as the principal word for the designation of a deposit.

¹ 870² निक्षेपोपनिधि³ I-82⁴ निक्षेपः स्यादुपनिधि⁵ II-9-81⁶ पुमान् उपनिधिर्न्यासः

It is quoted in Hem. as synonym of उपनिधि and न्यास and in Hal. as synonym of उपनिधि.¹

Mn. (VIII-4) enumerating eighteen titles of law mentions निक्षेप and quoting the classification of offences (XI-57) also uses this word. In addition Mn. quotes निक्षेप in the chapter relating to deposits (VIII-179-181, 185, 186, 188, 190-192, 194, 196, 149). Mn. also uses the word उपनिधि (VIII-185, 186, 149) and considers it as another kind of deposit (VIII-196). However, it must be noted that for a "sealed" deposit Mn. uses the word ससुद्र (VIII-183).

Although N. (16) in enumerating the titles of law uses the word उपनिधि and Asahāya commenting on these rules does not mention the word निक्षेप at all, it must be emphasized that N. in other places almost exclusively uses the word निक्षेप (N. II-1, 5, 7-10, 13). N. defining the deposit also employs the word निक्षेप and regulating the problem of the sale of things not from the owner also quotes the word निक्षेप (N. VII-1) and repeating in I-81 the text of Mn. (VIII-149) uses both the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि. N. (II-14) also contains a general rule according to which the rules relating to निक्षेप, as general rules, have to be applied to याचित, अन्वाहित, शिल्प, उपनिधि, न्यास and प्रतिन्यास. In the text of N., which is not published in the edition in "Bibliotheca Indica" by J. Jolly, and is quoted by Mit. (*at* Y. II-65), in VM. (p. 190/10-11) etc.² N. distinguishes between निक्षेप and उपनिधि and gives good definitions of both these kinds of deposits.

Chapter XI. of Brh., which deals with deposits, is entitled निक्षेप. All the other kinds of deposits are classed in Brh. under निक्षेप (XI-1, 15). However, Brh. seldom employs the word निक्षेप for the designation of the deposit (XII-1). Brh. differentiates between निक्षेप and औपनिधिक (XI-2), or न्यास (XI-3) as well as न्यास and अन्वाहित (XII-2) and expresses the opinion that all the rules contained in the Chapter XI also relate to अन्वाहित, याचित, शिल्पिन्यास, etc. (XI-18).

Vi. only mentions the word निक्षेप for the designation of the deposit (V-169 / 171, XXXVI-3, LII-4).

¹ See §. 3. ² Vir., Parāśaramādhava.

12 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Vir. on the other hand uses the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि promiscuously. Mitramiśra begins the relative para regarding deposits (p. 493) with the words निक्षेपं विवादपदमाधिकृत्याह and concludes (p. 496) with the words इति उपनिधिप्रकरणम्. Commenting on N. (VII-1) Mitramiśra says that the term निक्षेप includes by implication याचित and other species of deposits. This statement is probably based on N. (II-14).

VM. (p. 190/6) entitles the chapter regarding deposits - निक्षेप but uses as synonym of the term deposit the word न्यास and understands by it all kinds of deposits.

Other sources of law consider उपनिधि as the principal word to designate the deposit but also admit the term निक्षेप for the meaning of deposits.

Y. uses the word उपनिधि and निक्षेप (Y-II-25) separately and in N.-III-230, which is similar to the sentence found in Mn. (XI-57), uses the word निक्षेप: Y does not consider the word उपनिधि as identical with निक्षेप and states (II-67) that the same rules apply to निक्षेप as to उपनिधि.

Kāty. considers the word उपनिधि as the principal word for the designation of the deposit. We read there, that क्रयप्राप्तिनिक्षिप्तवन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् (592) are identical with the उपनिधि.¹ Kāty. promiscuously employs the words याचित (595), न्यास (596/7), उपनिधि (601), निक्षेप (592, 593, 598, 599) in the text and concludes by saying that all the rules enumerated in the relative chapter refer to all sorts of उपनिधि (602).

K. (177) also mentions the word उपनिधि as the principal word for the designation of deposits but extends the relative rules to निक्षेप (180/6).

Vās., in which Smṛti we find very little mention of deposits and in which the rules contained in Mn. (VIII-149) and N. (I-81) are repeated, mentions the word उपनिक्षेप for the designation of the deposit.

We also find the word निक्षेप in the sense of a deposit in Pañc.² Kath.³ Śāk.⁴ and others.

¹ क्रयप्राप्तिनिक्षिप्तवन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् ।

वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पितं चैव सार्यस्तूपनिधिः स्मृतः ॥ Kāty. 592

² Prath. I, 16 etc.

³ Tar. 7, v. 79.

⁴ 97-1.

5. Definition

The Smṛtis do not give us a juridical definition of the निक्षेप. Only unpublished text of N. quoted by Mit. etc. remarks :

असंख्यातमविज्ञातं समुद्रं यन्निधीयते ।

तं जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदुः ॥ ¹

Hence उपनिधि is a sealed deposit when its contents are not counted and known, and the निक्षेप is an unsealed deposit when the contents are counted.

This definition seems to be right. Probably developing it Mit. (*ad* Y. I-67, p. 163/25) remarks समक्षं तु समर्पणं निक्षेपः. In connection with the preceding sentence it is therefore evident that according to Mit. if delivery of the deposit was performed in the presence of the owner then this kind of deposit is called निक्षेप ; *eo ipso* in this case the deposit will be counted.

Vir. (p. 494/26-27) on the basis of the opinion of N., mentioned before, accepts a specific form of निक्षेप. This commentary is of the opinion that if an article described in the presence of an artisan (शिल्पिने) and handed over to him for preparing into an ornament is a निक्षेप. We shall see later on that this is not a निक्षेप but a शिल्पिन्यास ², however, we observe here the same *essentialia* which were found in N. and Mit. *i. e.* handing over of the object deposited or entrusted with somebody in the presence of the owner and counted. This is also an open deposit and not a sealed one.

How obscure the definition of the निक्षेप is, can be seen from the fact that the two, best experts and translators of K. understand निक्षेप in two entirely different ways. R. Shamasastri translates निक्षेप as a sealed deposit (180/6 sqq.) and J. J. Meyer as an open, unsealed deposit (284/26). We do not find in K. any definition of निक्षेप and it is not clear from the context whether उपनिधि or निक्षेप is a sealed or unsealed deposit, so that no reason exists why K. should be quite different from N., Y. and their commentators. Therefore, it would appear that J. J. Meyer's opinion that निक्षेप should be translated as an unsealed, open deposit is right.

It must be admitted that the निक्षेप is an unsealed deposit handed over to the depositary in the presence of the owner.

¹ VM. p. 190/10-11, Mit. *ad* Y. II-65 p. 162/25-26.

² See §. 17.

It has to be pointed out that N. (II-1) remarks :

स्वं द्रव्यं यत्र विश्रम्भाक्षिपत्यविशङ्कितः ।

निक्षेपो नाम तत्प्रोक्तं व्यवहारपदं दुर्धैः ॥

“ Where one entrusts his property to another in confidence and without suspicion, that is termed निक्षेप, a title of law. ”

We observe that in N. (II-1) a very clear and exact definition of निक्षेप is given, however, in reality, it is the proper definition of the deposit in the most general sense of this word and not a species of deposit called निक्षेप. The best proof of that might be the fact that in the last *śloka* according to VM. (p. 190/8-11) this general meaning of निक्षेप is divided into a specified निक्षेप and उपनिधि.

6. उपनिक्षेप

Y. (II-25) enumerates in addition to निक्षेप the उपनिक्षेप from उप° (at, by, beside, near. with) + °नि° (down, into) + °क्षिप् (to throw, to lay, to cast), the laid down by, the entrusted with.

Y. mentions the उपनिक्षेप in the *śloka* identical with Mn. (VIII-149), N. (I-61), Vās. (XVI-18) and K. (191/2). All these *Smṛtis* enumerate in the respective *ślokas* निक्षेप and उपनिधि (निक्षेपो-निधि). Y. however uses the word निक्षेप instead of the word उपनिक्षेप. We read there :

आधिसीमोपनिक्षेपजडबालधनैर्विना ।

तथोपनिधिराजस्त्रीश्रोत्रियाणां धनैरपि ॥

If we comment on this sentence which relates to not losing deposit, etc. by adverse possession, with identical quotations from other sources quoted above, we come to the conclusion that no difference exists between the निक्षेप and the उपनिक्षेप and that both mean “ open deposit ”. This is also the opinion expressed by Mit. where we read : उपनिक्षेपो नाम रूपसंख्याप्रदर्शनेन रक्षणार्थं परस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यम्. (Mit. *ad* Y. II-25 p. 137/25-26). Consequently उपनिक्षेप is a chattel placed for safe custody in another's hand after exhibiting its quality and quantity. The same definition of उपनिक्षेप can also be found in Vir : उपनिक्षेपः परस्य समीपे सङ्ख्यादिना परिच्छिन्नं समर्पितं वस्तु (Vir. *ad* Y. II-24/25 p. 436/5-6).

However, the उपनिक्षेप is defined in quite a different way in Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y. II-25). Śūlapāṇi states that the उपनिक्षेप is a deposit placed in a vessel without mentioning details

of what is deposited and with a seal. Śūlapāṇi, based on N., as he states, gives for the word उपनिक्षेप the definition of उपनिधि. Possibly the preposition उप was misleading for Śūlapāṇi and, therefore, he considered in error उपनिक्षेप as sealed deposit. This can also be surmised from the fact that Śūlapāṇi refers to N. where we do not find the word उपनिक्षेप but only the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि.

B. Sealed Deposits

7. Quotations

उपनिधि from उप* (at, by, beside, near, with) + *नि* (down, into) + °ष्ठा (to put, to lay, to bring) what is put into with somebody, a deposit, or औपनिधिक (creating a deposit) is considered in some *Smṛtis* as the principal word for the designation of deposits.

It was said above that Hem. quotes उपनिधि, निक्षेप and न्यास as synonyms, Hal. उपनिधि and निक्षेप and Amar. उपनिधि and न्यास.

Y., Kāty., and K. consider उपनिधि (औपनिधिक) as the principal word for the designation of deposits.

Y. (II-67), as was mentioned above, classes all the rules relating to deposits under the word उपनिधि. Y. (II-25) also uses the word उपनिक्षेप and उपनिधि.

Kāty. (592) considers several kinds of deposits as equivalent to उपनिधि¹ and uses the word उपनिधि promiscuously with other synonyms for this word.

In K. the heading of the relative chapter is औपनिधिक (p. 177/12), then K. employs the word उपनिधि (p. 177/13 sqq.) but later mentions that the rules relating to उपनिधि must also be applied in case of निक्षेप (p. 180/6). K. uses also the word उपनिधि next to निक्षेप (p. 191/2) in the chapter relating to prescription.

Mn. (VIII-196) differentiates between उपनिधि and निक्षेप and in other places mentions उपनिधि as well as निक्षेप *i. e.* when regulating that both these deposits should not be handed over to the next-of-kin (VIII-185) and when regulating the problem of prescription (VIII-149). When regulating this last problem N. (I-81), Vās. (XVI-18), K. (191/2) and Y. (II-25) also mention उपनिधि next to निक्षेप.

¹ See §. 4.

In addition उपनिधि is mentioned in Mbh. (I-4899.)¹

8. Definition

We find the definition of उपनिधि or औपनिधिक in N. (II-5), Brh. (XI-2), Y. (II-65). It must also be noted that N. (16) enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentions उपनिधि as one of them, although (in the second chapter) considers निक्षेप as the principal word for the designation of deposits. N. (quoted in Mit. ad Y. II-65, VM. and others) differentiates also between उपनिधि and निक्षेप.²

Mit. defines उपनिधि (ad Y. II-25 p. 136/27), Vir. (ad Y. II-24.25 p. 439 and ad II. 65-67 p. 493/19), Śulapāṇi (ad Y. II-25 and 67), Viv. (p. 26 basing the definition on Kāty., and Śukr. औपनिधिक II-327) considering this word as the principal for the designation of a deposit.³

The definition of the उपनिधि or औपनिधिक found in different Smṛtis is not uniform although, in rule, it is admitted in the Smṛtis that the उपनिधि is a sealed deposit.⁴

Vir. states briefly that उपनिधि is a special kind of deposit तदौपनिधिकं नाम निक्षेपाविशेषः (Vir. p. 493 19).

Exhaustive definitions of उपनिधि can be found in N. (II-5), Y. (II-65), Brh. (XI-2) and N. (quoted in Mit. ad Y. II-25, etc.). In addition उपनिधि is also defined in Vir. (ad Y. II-24.25), Medh. (ad Mn. VIII-148), etc.

The Smṛtis state: अन्यद्रव्यव्यवहितं द्रव्यमव्याहृतं च यत् ।

निक्षिप्यते परगृहं तदौपनिधिकं स्मृतम् ॥ (N. II-5),

वासनस्थमनाव्याय हस्तेऽन्यस्य यदर्प्यते ।

द्रव्यं तदौपनिधिकं प्रतिदेयं तथैव तत् ॥ (Y. II-65),

अनाव्यातं व्यवहितमसंख्यातमदर्शितम् ।

मुद्राङ्कितं च यद्दत्तं तदौपनिधिकं स्मृतम् ॥ (Brh. XI-2),

असंख्यातमविज्ञातं समुद्रं यन्निर्धायते ।

तज्जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदुः ॥

(N. in Mit. ad Y. II-65 p. 162/25).

¹ For details See §. 4.

² See §. 4.

³ Śukr. defines also deposits in similar way.

⁴ It was mentioned before that K. does not give any definition of उपनिधि and Shamasasatri translates उपनिधि as an open deposit and निक्षेप as a sealed deposit ; the other way round J. J. Meyer, whose translation seems to be better, See §. 5.

उपनिधिर्भाण्डस्थानामपरिच्छिन्नानां ।

(Vir. ad Y. II-24-25 p. 436/7-8)

Hence a chattel, property (द्रव्य) which being placed in a box (बासन, Y. II-65) or a pot (भाण्ड, Vir.) or hidden in another thing (N. II-5) or, as mentioned most clearly in other *Smṛtis*,—under a seal (समुद्र, N. in Mit. ad Y. II-65, or मुद्राङ्किता in Brh. XI-2) or covered with cloth and sealed (Medh. ad Mn. VIII-148) without being described (अनाख्याय in Y. II-65, असंख्यातमदर्शितम् in Brh. XI-2) or without being counted or known (असंख्यातमविज्ञातं in N. in Mit. ad Y. II-65) or measured (अपरिच्छिन्नानां in Vir.) is deposited in other people's houses (परगृहे, in N. II-5) or in the hands of another — is called उपनिधि. In other words when a chattel is given under seal to another person for deposit or if the depositary does not know what is deposited with him, this kind of deposit is known as उपनिधि.

Some of the commentators explain what is to be understood under a sealed or hidder article in another thing. These are, as explained, things which are unknown to the depositary *i. e.* he does not know whether it is gold, or silver, or pearls, or necklaces, etc. tied up and secured by a private knot prevent its being taken by another person or secured by the impression of a seal on which special letters are engraved (Col. p. 403/4 based on Asahāya ad N.).

That is one kind of definition of the उपनिधि. However, Medh. (ad Mn. VIII-148) who in the beginning defines the उपनिधि in a similar way to the definitions mentioned above states that it is better to take an उपनिधि as standing for what is given for use through friendliness and favour. Most probably in this instance he bases his opinion on Mn. (VIII-196). The opinion expressed in *Dipakalikā* (ad Y. II-25) is similar. Śulapāṇi states that उपनिधि is a deposit made over for use out of affection. This point of view completely changes the meaning of the sealed deposit, of which one of the *essentialia* is the fact that the depositary does not know what he takes into deposit, and moreover, cannot use it. The use of a deposited object also completely changes the character of this agreement. Therefore, it must be admitted that this definition is wrong. Even Śulapāṇi, in another place, we can say, admits that he was wrong (ad Y. II-25) as ad Y. (II-67) expresses the opinion that the use of the deposit without the consent of the depositor is not allowed and he who does it should be fined. It must also be borne in mind that only *Dipaklikā* and Medh. are of the

latter opinion though all the other *Smṛtis* define उपनिधि as sealed deposit.

C. Secret Deposits

9. Quotations

न्यास from the legal point of view is the least important synonym for the designation of deposits.

Hem. enumerates न्यास as one of the three synonyms along with निक्षेप and उपनिधि and Amar. as one of two i. e. along with उपनिधि.¹

Asahāya (ad N. 16) divides the deposits *inter alia* also into न्यास Kāty. (592) enumerating various kinds of deposits (उपनिधि) does not mention न्यास as one of them. This *Smṛti*, however, uses this word promiscuously with उपनिधि, निक्षेप and याचित (593, 603).

Brh. promiscuously employs न्यास with निक्षेप (XI-9, 19) and considers it from the point of view of law as a special kind of deposit, and gives a special definition of न्यास (Brh. XI-3). In addition, Brh. in the chapter relating to the sale of different articles by an unauthorised person, not the owner, (अश्वामिन) mentions न्यास, निक्षेप and अन्वाहित, separately stating, in this way, that these three deposits are different from each other (Brh. XII-2).

Y. and N. also consider न्यास as the different sort of deposit as it is stated in these *Smṛtis* that the rules relating to उपनिधि or निक्षेप apply also *inter alia* to न्यास (Y. II-67, N. II-14).

It must also be added that in N., in which *Smṛti* the word निक्षेप is considered as the principal word for the designation of a deposit, in the chapter relating to proofs by ordeal to take place in the case of the denial of a deposit, the word न्यास is used (N. I-241).

B. (II-1, 2, 3) considering the stealing of a deposit, and the like, as an offence causing loss of caste, also uses the word न्यास for the designation of deposits.

Sukr. (IV-5, 310) uses the word न्यास in addition to याचित and अन्वाहित.

Generally speaking the word न्यास was considered in literature, and *eo ipso* colloquially, as the principal word for the designation of deposits, although in juridical nomenclature it

¹ See §. 3., Hem. (870), Amar. (II. 9, 81).

was a specific and rather infrequent sort of deposit.¹ And so we see in *Mṛcch.* that *Vasantasenā* entrusting the jewels to *Cārudatta* uses the word न्यास (णास). Similarly this word is also used by *Vidūṣaka* and *Cārudatta*.² In *Rāj.* we also find the word न्यास in the chapter relating to a certain man of means who deposited a lakh of money in the house of a merchant.³ *Raj.* also prefers the word निक्षेप for the designation of a deposit.⁴ In *Śāk.* (act IV-97) the word न्यास is also used for the designation of deposits,⁵ similarly in *Ragh.*⁶ and *Kath.*⁷ (when referring to the deposit of the whole estate with the merchant *Hiranyadatta* or *Hiranyagupta* and tricks used by *Upakośā*).⁸ Even *Rām.* uses the word न्यास for the designation of the deposit,⁹

¹ See §. 10.

² *Vasantasenā* :— अञ्ज अलिभं । पुरिसेसु णासा णिक्खिविअन्ति ण उण गेहेसु
(Act I p. 69/628-629 , *Cārudatta* : धिदूमुखं न्यासः सख्यम् (Act I. p. 69
633). *Vidūṣaka* : णासो वसु सो । *Cārudatta* : कथं न्यासः । *Vidūṣaka* :
समस्ससदु भवं । जइ णासो चोरेण अवहदो तुमं किं मोहं उवगदो । Act III.
p. 155/282-285).

Cārudatta : यं समालम्ब्य विश्वासं न्यासोस्मासु तथा कृतः ।

तस्येतन्महानो मूल्यं प्रत्ययस्यैव दीयते ॥ Act III. p. 161/353-354

³ सोहृदागूढसद्भावे व्यापदौपयिकं धनी ।

न्यासीचकार दीनारलक्षं कोपि बनिग्गृहे ॥ (VIII-124). See also
VIII. 126, 151.

⁴ See VIII-147

⁵ अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव तामय संश्लेष्य परिग्रहीतुः ।

जातो ममायं विशदः प्रकामं प्रत्यापितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ॥

Śāk. Act. IV, 97.

स विसृष्टस्तथेत्युक्त्वा भ्राता नैवाविशत्पुत्रीं ।

⁹

नन्दिग्रामतस्तस्य राज्यं न्यासमिवाभुनक् ॥ *Ragh.* XII-18.

⁷ Tar. 4.

⁸ वणिग् धिरण्यगुप्तो मे भर्त्रा न्यासीकृतं धनं ।

जिहीर्षति इति विज्ञप्तम् तत्र राजा तथा स्वयं (*Kath. Tar.* 4/72)

Ka th. uses also in addition to न्यासीकृत the words अपिधान, स्थापित
धान, etc.

पादुके चास्य राज्याय न्यासं दत्त्वा पुनः पुनः ।

निवर्तयामास ततो भरतं भरतायजः ॥ *Rām.* 1, 1, 37.

as well as Mbh., ¹ Bhāgavata Purāṇa² and many others.

It must be noted that Mit. (*ad* Y. II-67) uses in addition to न्यास the word न्यस्त, a special kind of deposit i. e. gold, etc. for preparing bracelets, etc.³ Mit. classes this kind of deposit under "and others".—From this commentary it is evident that न्यस्त is nothing more than शिल्पिन्यास.⁴

10. Definition

From the legal point of view न्यास is a deposit which was entrusted to a member of the house in the absence of the owner and without being shown to him with the mandate to be handed over to the owner of the house. Therefore, न्यास can be considered as a secret deposit. This definition is absolutely identical with that found in Mit. and Vir. (*ad* Y. II-67).

Mit. states : न्यासो नाम गृहस्वामिनेऽदर्शयित्वा तत्परोक्षमेव गृहजनहस्ते प्रक्षेपो गृहस्वामिने समर्पणीयमिति । (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/24-25).

Vir. states : न्यासो गृहस्वामिनेऽदर्शयित्वा तत्परोक्षमेव तदीयजनहस्ते प्रक्षेपो गृहस्वामिने समर्पणीयमिति । (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/24-26).

This is the real definition of न्यास. Brh. (XI-3) is also of the opinion that the contract of deposit (न्यास) takes place in the house of another man and adds the motive for the commitment of the deposit. Brh. states that it takes place through fear of the king, robbers or other dangers or for the purpose of deceiving the heirs. We read there :

राजचौरारातिभयादायादानां च वञ्चनात् ।

स्थाप्यतेऽन्यगृहे द्रव्यं न्यासस्तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥

(Brh. XI-3)

Identically *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y. II-67). Such a fear is also described in K. (180/19-181/2) where, however, the word निक्षेप is employed.⁵

¹ I-6137

² In Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 8, 16, IX, 14, 20.

³ आदिशब्देन सुवर्णकारादिहस्ते कटक्यादिनिर्माणाय न्यस्तस्य सुवर्णादेः

(Mit. *ad* Y. II. 67 p. 163/25-26). See §. 18.

⁴ See §. 18.

⁵ रुतलक्षणेन वा द्रव्येण प्रत्यानयने तंवालिशजातीयो वा राज्ञो राजदाविकाक्षण-
भीतिः सारमस्य हस्ते निक्षिप्यागच्छेत् । K. 180/19-20 See also J. J. Meyer *Das altin-
dische Buch von Welt und Staatsleben* p. 786/78.

If we admit that the only *essentials* of the न्यास—deposit is the lodging of an object in the hands of a person for safe-keeping “in the house of another man” then we understand clearly why Mrech., Rāj., Kath., etc. have used the word न्यास and not निक्षेप or उपनिधि. However, it must be admitted (Śāk. and others) that the word न्यास was principally employed, and in literature too, for the designation of deposits.

D. Mutual Deposits

11. Quotations

The mention of प्रतिन्यास from प्रति° (towards, over, against, in sight of) + न्यास (deposit), a deposit towards another, is to be found in N. (II-14). There it is pointed out that the rules relating to deposits also apply *inter alia* to प्रतिन्यास.

Mit. (ad Y. II-67 p. 163/26) basing his opinion on this quotation also understands under “and others” the प्रतिन्यास – deposit.

12. Definition

The definition of प्रतिन्यास is to be found in Asahāya's commentary (ad N. II-14) and in VM. (ad N. II-14 p. 193/3).¹ Under this expression an agreement of a re-deposit or a mutual deposit must be understood. According to this agreement both parties exchanged deposits with one other (प्रतिन्यासः स्वामिना यत्र निक्षिप्तं तेनाप्यन्यत्र निक्षिप्तं)² with the words “you should keep this thing of mine, and I shall keep this thing of yours”.

We can say that from the legal point of view in this case two different contracts of deposit take place at the same time. The depositaries are depositors as well as vice versa.

It must be noted that other *Smṛtis* do not regulate this kind of deposit.

E. Loans for Use

13. Quotations

याचित or याचितक – deposit from याच्° (to ask for, to request, to sue for) is classed among deposits (उपनिधि) in Kāty. (592) and in Asahāya's commentary on N. (16) when enumerating eighteen titles of law. Y. (II-67, II-14) and Brh. (XI-18)³ also state the same; both these *Smṛtis* state that the general rules relating to deposits have also to be applied to याचित or याचितक.

¹ and by Nīlakaṇṭha.

² VM. p. 193/3.

³ याचित.

Y. (II-238) quotes the word याचित when discussing the problem of the use by the washerman of the objects given to him and penalties to be imposed for such use (ten *paṇas*).

G. (XII-42) and Kāty. (595) use this word when regulating the responsibility for negligence or *vis maior* in the case of loss or destruction of an object which was याचित.

Vir. and Smṛ. C. commenting on Kāty. (606/7) express the opinion that the rules of deposits apply to याचितक.

Śukr. (IV-5, 310) uses the word याचित besides न्यास, अन्वाहित, etc.

Matsya Purāṇa (quoted in Dh. *ad* उपनिधि) and Aparārka (p. 664) quote याचित besides निक्षेप.

14. Definition

In spite of all the quotations mentioned above it is very difficult to admit from the point of view of the system of civil law that याचित is a deposit.

VM. gives the following definition of the याचित-याचितमुद्राहादी शोभाद्यर्थं नीतमलंकारादि.

Vir. states : विवाहाद्युत्सवार्थं वस्त्रालङ्कारादिकं प्रतिदेयतयाङ्गीकृत्य याचित्वानीतं याचितं । (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/21-23).—Similarly *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y. II-67).

Consequently it is evident that according to this contract clothes, ornaments and the like are loaned to a person on the occasion of a marriage or similar festivity for adornment purposes. These objects are given without any consideration of interest, as Śukr. rightly mentions twice (II-327, 381.)¹. This opinion also conforms with that of Pāṇini (4, 4, 21) who says that याचित (याचितक) are articles lent for use free of interest.

From the conclusions noted above it is evident that याचित (याचितक) from the point of view of law are loans for use and not deposits although some *essentialia* were the same in both agreements. That is probably the reason why the *Smṛtis* class the याचित amongst the उपनिधि (Kāty., N.) and apply to these contracts the general rules relating to deposits. Therefore, from the point of view of the system of ancient Indian law we have to class याचित among deposits.

¹ अवृद्धिकं गृहीतान्यालंकारादि च याचितं (II. 327/655)

सवृद्धिकमृणं दत्तमकुसीदं तु याचितं । (II. 341/681)

F. Deposits for Delivery

15. Quotations

अन्वाहित from अनु° (thereafter, afterwards, further on) + °आ° + (to, upto, at) + °दा (to lay, to give) *i. e.* what is given afterwards further on, is according to the *Smṛtis* a specific form of deposit.

Katy. (592) classes अन्वाहित among उपनिधि and Asahāya commenting on N. (16), when enumerating the eighteen titles of law in subdivisions of deposits, quotes अन्वाहित.

Y. (II-67), Brh. (XI-18) and N. (II-14) are of the opinion that the rules relating to deposits (उपनिधि, निक्षेप) also apply to अन्वाहित.

Brh. (XII-2), regulating the problem of sale without ownership, mentions अन्वाहित besides न्यास and निक्षेप.

Sukr. (IV-5, 310), discussing the problem of things which must not be handed over to others even in times of danger, enumerates अन्वाहित along with याचित and न्यास.¹

16. Definition

None of the *Smṛtis* give any definition of the अन्वाहित - deposit. We observe, however, some definitions in the commentaries on the *Smṛtis*.

Mit. states: यदेकस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यनु पश्चादन्यहस्ते स्वामिने देहीति निहितं तदन्वाहितम् । (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/22-23).

The definition found in Vir. is almost identical. We read there: अन्वाहितं स्वामिना एकस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यनु पश्चादन्यस्य हस्ते तस्याधातुर्वचनाञ्जितम् । (*ad* Y. II-67, p. 494/23-24).

The explanation of the अन्वाहित is clearer in the VM., although this definition is worse from the legal point of view. We read there: अन्वाहितममुकेन मयि स्थापितं च त्वया तस्मै देयमिति पुरुषान्तरहस्तेष्वितम् । (VM. p. 192/13-14).

On the basis of these three commentaries we have to come to the conclusion that the contract of अन्वाहित took place if the owner A. committed to the care of B. an object and this B. lodged it afterwards, further on, in the hands of C. with the clear mandate to return it to the owner A.

¹ uses also the word निक्षेप.

From the point of view of law not one but several separate contracts were performed in this case. Firstly there is the performance of the agreement between A. and B., according to which an ordinary contract of deposit took place. However, according to the contract of deposit B. was obliged to return the deposited object to A. In the case of the अन्वाहित—deposit B. concluded an additional agreement with C. according to which he obliged C. to return the deposited object to A. *i. e.* to the owner of this object. The commentators do not state whether the agreement between B. and C. was concluded with, without or against the will of the owner of the deposited object. As no objections are raised in the *Smṛtis* against this kind of deposit, we can admit that this agreement was concluded with or without the will of A., but never against his will.

The agreement between B. and C. is, above all, a contract of deposit (sub-deposit) joined with the mandate (*mandatum*) to return the deposited object not to B. but to the owner of the deposited object—A.

Therefore, the अन्वाहित is a deposit for delivery.

We find in the *Smṛtis* besides the अन्वाहित also the अन्वाधि from अनु° (thereafter, afterwards, further on) + आधि (pledge) *i. e.* a pledge which should be given afterwards, further on. This word is found in Kāty. (611) where it is defined in the following way :

अनुसामर्गेण कार्येषु अन्यस्मिन्वचनान्मम ।

दद्यात्स्वमिति यो दत्तः स इहान्वाधिरुच्यते ॥

This definition is similar to that quoted above and, therefore, the word अन्वाधि is identified with अन्वाहित, which does not seem to be correct as it is composed also of आधि (and not of धा-हित), which means a pledge.¹

G. Deposits with an Artisan

17. Quotations

शिल्पिन्यास from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + °न्यास (deposit) or शिल्पे उपनिधि from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + उपनिधि (deposit) or शिल्पिहस्तगत from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + °हस्त° (hand) + °गत (from गम् being in) is according to the *Smṛtis* a special kind of deposit.

We find शिल्पिन्यास in Brh. (XI-18),² Viv. (p. 25/26), VM.

¹ See Mîśra and Bhavadēva (quoted in Col. p. 406) on 'pledge transferred'

² See also XI. 19.

(p. 193/4, 194/8, etc.), शिल्पे उपनिधि in N. (II-14) and शिल्पिहस्तगत in Asahāya's commentary on N. (16).

Brh. (XI-18) and N. (II-14) extend the rules regarding deposits to शिल्पिन्यास or शिल्पे उपनिधि. Nevertheless it must be pointed out that Y. in the *śloka* II-67, which is almost identical with the two quotations mentioned above, does not contain any mention of शिल्पिन्यास, or the like.

However, under " others " (आदि) this kind of deposit could be understood although neither Mit. nor Vir. mentioned by name शिल्पिन्यास, or the like. Vir. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/26-27) defines namely deposits with an artisan calling them निक्षेप and Mit. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/25-26) न्यस्त. ¹

Also Kāty. (592) does not mention शिल्पिन्यास, or the like, but it is evident from *śloka* 603 sqq. that this kind of deposit is known to Kāty. too. The same applies to K. where शिल्पिन्यस or the like is not mentioned in the relative chapter relating to deposits but from another place (180/9 sqq.) it is evident that this kind of deposit is known to K. too. K. uses in this para, for the designation of an artisan, instead of the word शिल्पन्, the word कारव.

Asahāya (*ad* N.-16) enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentions as one of the kinds of deposits the शिल्पिहस्तगत i. e. what has been put into the hands of an artisan.

VM. (193/4) interpreting Kāty. (603) uses the word शिल्पिन्यास and then, further on, referring to some special rules connected with this kind of deposits, uses also the same word.

Viv. quoting and interpreting Brh. (XI-18 and 19) uses also the word शिल्पिन्यास.

18. Definition

We do not find in the *Smṛtis* any definition for the word शिल्पिन्यास, or the like. We find it, however, in the commentaries on the *Smṛtis*.

We read in Viv. (p. 25) : शिल्पिन्यासेऽलङ्कारणादिघटनार्थं शिल्पिषु समर्पिते सुवर्णादी.....

We read in VM. (p. 192/24-25) शिल्पिन्यासो हेमकारादिषु कुण्डलाद्यर्थं निक्षिप्तम् ।

¹ See §. 5 and §. 10.

Vir. calling this kind of deposit निक्षेप says : शिल्पिनेऽलङ्कारादि-
घटनाय द्रव्यसमर्पणं च साक्षादारव्याय । समर्पणं निक्षेपः (Vir. *ad* Y. II-67
p. 494/26-27) and Mit. calling it न्यस्त states as follows :

आदिशब्देन सुवर्णकारादिहस्ते कटकादिनिर्माणाय न्यस्तस्य सुवर्णदेः ।
(Mit. *ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/25-26).¹

From these quotations it is evident that under the शिल्पिन्यास, or other similar expressions, must be understood an object given to an artisan in order to perform a particular piece of work. This is *e. g.* giving of gold to a goldsmith in order to make from it earrings, necklaces etc.

From the point of view of the theory of law this contract is not *depositum* but *fiducia* because the aim of deposit is to give a movable thing for the purpose of gratuitous safe custody. In this case, however, the aim of giving a movable thing is the giving of material to an artisan for the purpose for its manufacture. The duties of such an artisan are similar to those of the depositary and probably, therefore, some of the *Smṛtis* class the giving of objects to an artisan for manufacturing among deposits. However, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian law we must admit that शिल्पिन्यास, or the like, are considered as deposits. In any case we have to keep in mind that such a precise *Smṛti*, as the Y. is, rightly does not class the शिल्पिन्यास under the contracts of deposit.

H. Property of a Minor

19. Quotations

पोगण्ड or पोगण्डधान from पोगण्ड° (a minor) + ण्डान (property) is according to N. the sixth species of deposits. We read there :

प्रतिगृह्णाति पोगण्डं यश्च सप्रधनं नरः ।

तत्याप्येष भवेद्धर्मः षडेते विधयः समाः ॥

Also Asahāya commenting on N. (16) and enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentions पोगण्डधान.

20. Definition

The only definition of this " deposit " can be found in Asahāya (*ad* N. II-15). We read there :

¹ See §. 9.

य अनाथं बालं सप्रधनं नाथाबुद्ध्या प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्यापि पूर्वोक्तस्यैव विधिर्द्रष्टव्यः । षडेते विधयः । षडेते विधयः समा इति ।

Hence this is the property of a minor. This kind of the contract of deposit, according to N., takes place when a man takes a wealthy minor, who has no guardians, into his house. Then the property of the minor is subjected to the rules relating to deposits. In this case the child, whose father and mother are deceased, is deposited by the king or on his behalf with a man who has to take care of the orphan. As the orphan-minor cannot dispose of the estate left by his father, the guardian has to take care of him similarly to a thing committed to his care.

In this case too, from the legal point of view, it is impossible to class this case under "deposits." This is a *tutela dativa* and the depositary is in reality a *tutor dativus* who has similar pecuniary obligations towards the minor as a depositary towards the depositor. However, here too, N. is of the opinion¹ that it is a special kind of deposit. Therefore, we have to consider it, from the point of view of the system of ancient Indian law as a species of deposits.

I. Other Kinds of Deposits

21. क्रयप्रोषित, बन्ध, वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित

In Kāty. (592) we read : क्रयप्रोषितानिक्षिप्तबन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् ।

वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पितं चैव सौर्थस्तूपनिधिः स्मृतः ॥

We see here that Kāty. classes, in addition to the deposits quoted above, the following contracts under deposits : क्रयप्रोषित, बन्ध and वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित.

क्रयप्रोषित from क्रय° (purchase) + °प्रोषित (from प्र° + °वृत्त्य going home, going abroad) is an object sold but still in the hands of the vendor. It is not a deposit from the point of view of the theory of law, but a *constitutum possessorium*.

बन्ध is a pledge, it is an article entrusted to a pledgee, but not a deposit, although the pledgee has similar duties to perform as a depositary.

वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित from वैश्य° (merchant) + °वृत्त्य (वृत्ति) (from वर- to reach) + °अर्पित (from अर्, to bring) is an object lodged in the hands of

¹ ... षडेते विधयः समाः (N. II. 15).

a trader. It is also not a *depositum* but *fiducia*. Here also the trader has similar duties to perform as the depositary.¹

22. आदि

Y. (II-67) and N. (II-14) use also the word आदि *i. e.* "and the like" after having enumerated याचित, अन्वाहित, न्यास (Y.), or याचित and अन्वाहित (N.).² Vir. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/27 sqq.) understands under this expression things bought but not paid and like others mentioned in G. (XII-42). G. states there :

निधन्वाधियाचितावक्रीताधयो नष्टाः सर्वाननिन्दितानपुरुषापराधेन ।

Therefore, these kinds of *fiducia* have also to be considered, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian law, as contracts of deposit.³

J. Distinction of Deposits from the Point of View of Civil Procedure

23. Deposits given before witnesses or verbally

From the point of view of civil procedure N. (II-6) and Brh. (XII-5) differentiate between deposits given before witnesses (साक्षिमानित or ससाक्षित⁴) or verbally and in private (प्रोक्त⁵ or राहोदत्त).⁶

The deposit was given verbally when the depositor had the highest confidence in the depositary. However, the depositary had to abstain from this kind of contract and the contract of deposit before witnesses or writing should be concluded in order to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the kind of deposit and that the depositary is not forced to be tried by ordeal (see Viv. p. 23/4).

We see here that this distinction between deposits is not important from the point of view of civil law but civil procedure only and, in particular, from the point of view of evidence in case of an eventual lawsuit.

¹ See also a similar case of *fiducia* in K. 198/17 and many others.

² as well as शिल्पे उपनिधि, न्यास and प्रान्न्यास.

³ See §§. 9, 11, 17, 18.

⁴ from साक्षिन् or साक्षिक — witness.

⁵ from प्र^० + °वच्.

⁶ from राहस्^० + °दत्त.

III MAHĀBHĀRATA NOTES *

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

1. शिशुमार शिरः

In October 1938 I had written to the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar to enquire the meaning of the expression शिशुमार शिरः occurring in Ādiparvan, 185. 16 (Vulgate text). In reply he wrote to me: 'I am not sure about the meaning of *śiśumāraśiraḥ*, in Ādi. 185. 16. Our *old* group of Northern Mss. has 'puram' while Southern Mss. read 'girim'. We have accepted 'puram' for our Critical text, and I take that it was some place—a suburb—near Drupada's capital, where a special camp was erected for the *Svayamvara*'.¹ Subsequently I published my interpretation of the word in the Journal of India Society of Oriental Art for 1939, suggesting that शिशुमार शिरः could best be explained as an architectural term implying the architrave of a toraṇa carved with an alligator's head. The meaning had come to me by looking at the old gateways of the Sanchi stūpa in which the toraṇa beams are finished off in volutes at both ends decorated with alligator's head and coiled fish tail. This meaning suits the context admirably. In response to king Drupada's proclamation of the *svayamvara*, many kings, Rsis, sages and Brāhmaṇas flocked to his capital from different places to participate in and witness the ceremony. Those kings were well received by Drupada with respect due to their rank (Ādi. 176. 14). Then we have:

ततः पौरजनाः सर्वे सागरोद्धूतनिःस्वनाः ।

शिशुमारपुरं प्राप्य न्यविशंस्ते च पार्थिवाः ॥

(Critical text, I. 176. 15)

* Mahābhārata Notes I, A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXI, pp. 280-284;
Mahābhārata Notes II, A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXII, pp. 19-22.

¹ Letter No. Gen. 3494 of 1938-39, dated 5th Nov., 1938.

i. e. on the next day the citizens of the capital and those royal guests proceeded with rumbling deep noise to the शिशुमार शिर (keeping the Vulgate reading) and entered (the समाजवाट).

Then the poet describes in elaborate detail the architecture of the samāja-vāṭa furnished with प्राकार and परिखा, i. e. first a moat then an outer wall, and then the द्वारतोरण or the main gateway in the enclosure wall which gave access to the inner grounds. Inside it were rich pavilions and palaces (वितान, प्रासाद) furnished with many articles of comfort and show [Ādi, 176. 16-93]. The Epic description faithfully reflects the early Indian architecture of cities and city-gates as found in many places in the Buddhist and Jain literature (cf. Milinda, I. 34 and 380 ff.). As Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown : The most conspicuous and necessary parts of a city are the moat (*parikhā*) and rampart (*prākāra*), gates (*dvāra*, *gōpura*), more specifically gate-houses (*dvāra-kotṭhaka*) with their defence towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*) and the king's palace (*prāsāda*, *harmya*, *rāja-niveśana vimāna*, etc.) [Early Indian Architecture, Cities and City-gates, Eastern Art, 1930, p. 211].

The Epic writer has in my opinion preserved in the word शिशुमारशिरः a conspicuous feature of the early Indian gateway architecture. The voluted ends of the architraves or temple cross beams were adorned with figures of fish-tailed alligators in a very attractive and prominent style. This feature impressing even a casual observer of the Sanchi gateways persists upto the Kushāna period in the art of Mathura. It should, however, be mentioned that this artistic feature which is so very common in the style of the Sanchi toraṇas is conspicuous by its absence at Bharhut where only the spiral motifs are carved on the two ends of the beams. I should also note that I am unable to quote any other evidence from early Jain or Buddhist literature to corroborate the above explanation which can therefore be taken at best a suggestion deriving its force from the evidence of available architectural styles of early Indian art.

Dr. Sukthankar referred my suggestion to Dr. P. K. Acharya whose explanation was a bit different from mine as Dr. Sukthankar wrote to me : ' I have been pursuing the question

of the best interpretation of the word *śiṃśumāraśirah*, and in that connection I wrote to Prof. P. K. Acharya of Allahabad University. I have now heard from him that he prefers the reading *śirah*, and opines that it is an architectural term. In his opinion it means *not* architrave of gates, but "the hand-rail on the balustrade of the gallery of pavilion marked probably at the bottom by the head of crocodile". This gallery of pavilion, in his opinion, was probably reserved for the *Paurājanāḥ*. He refers me to *Mānasāra Vāstusāstra* (30-78-80) where there is mention of "stair-case of elephant's trunk pattern said to be decorated with lion faces."

I am sending you the information for what it is worth. I cannot make much of it myself. But it might give you a clue for further investigation.'¹

Although I cannot agree with the suggestion of Dr. Acharya I think we can understand his meaning. He seems to suggest that in the pavilion (विमान) inside the समाजवाट there were seats for the kings on the ground floor and an upper gallery for the sight-seeing पौरजनाः, to which a stair-case was leading. The hand-rail on the side of this stair case was decorated with the head of crocodile, and this decoration was carved at the bottom near the first baluster or upright post. If I am right in understanding Dr. Acharya's meaning I should say that no doubt there were upper galleries and stair-cases (cf. सुखारोहणसोपान in the present passage, *Ādi.* 176. 20) with small hand-rails as found in the representations of early Indian art, yet I think that the term शिंशुमार शिरः as applicable to this small baluster is, for one thing, of much weaker force than if applied to the full-fledged toraṇa architrave, and for the other does not seem to hold good in the present context. A careful reading of the passage (*Ādi.* 176. 15-26) makes it quite clear. The शिंशुमार शिरः according to the Epic was approached by the citizens and the kings and the question of any upper gallery being reserved for the former does not arise. The obvious and natural inference is that the शिंशुमारशिरः (whatever be its meaning) was approached by the guests as the first thing before they made their entry into the arena.

¹ Letter No. Mbh. 3528 of 1940-41, dated 9th October, 1940.

Having accepted the reading शिशुमारशिरः to be the correct one as dictated by the propriety of meaning I had entertained doubts regarding its textual support since Dr. Sukthankar wrote to me : Our old group of northern Mss. has 'puram' while Southern Mss. read 'girim'. We have accepted 'puram' for our Critical text.' In the printed footnotes to the Critical edition only Ms K4 of the Kashmiri version gives शिशुमारशिर and D4 of the Devanāgarī version शिशुमारशिरः, all others record पुरं or गिरिम्. Besides the fact that feeble textual support is not always the final argument in rejecting an otherwise superior reading,¹ we have here a good reason for the belief that शिशुमारशिरः represents the original reading. It is a very fit example of *lectio difficilior*, i. e. the more difficult text preserving the correct reading, which in process of simplification was substituted by a reading palpably easier of comprehension. But all doubt about it is now set at rest by the discovery of the oldest extant Ms of the Ādiparvan from Nepal which according to Pandit Hemaraja is between seven hundred and eight hundred years old and which the learned General Editor of the Mahābhārata hailed as a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies. The reading of this Ms. is शिशुमारशिर (Sukthankar Epic Studies VII, Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I, p. 382), and this to my mind sets the seal of final approval on this debated reading.

2. वैयाघ्र

In the first part of these Notes (A. B. O. R. I. XXI, p. 280) I had explained the expression वैयाघ्रपरिवारितरथ (Sabhā-parvan, 51. 34) as 'chariots mounted with tiger's skin' on the basis of Pāṇini's sūtra द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् (IV. 2. 12) occurring under the general rule परिवृतो रथः। The references quoted there seem to permit the inference that the use of *vaiyūghra* chariots was a privilege enjoyed by kings and princes. The *vaiyūghra-parivārita ratha* referred to in the Sabhā-parvan (51. 34) was itself brought as a present to King Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his

¹ Compare the reading उपसृताः in Āraṇyaka-parvan, 229. 5. 'Vasudeva S. Agrawala has suggested the emendation of उपसृतास्त्वपि (of the Vulgate) to उपसृतास्त्वपि (which is our reading). Though rather feebly supported by Ms. evidence, it is undoubtedly the correct reading'. (Dr. Sukthankar's Critical Notes to the Āraṇyaka-parvan, p. 1106).

Rājasūya ceremony. The Atharvaveda mentions as an essential part of the Rājasūya sacrifice the striding by the king on a tiger's skin :—

व्याघ्रो अधिवेयाघ्रे विक्रमस्व दिशो महीः

'Stride forth to broad regions, thou, a tiger, on a tiger's skin' (Atharva IV. 8. 4). According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, शार्दूलचर्मोपस्तृणाति (V. 3. 5. 3) the stepping on the tiger's skin was a necessary feature of the Rājasūya ceremony.

The word *vaiyāghra* in the Atharvaveda passage implies the skin of a tiger and not a chariot covered with it as known to Pāṇini. It appears that the tiger's skin on which the king walked at the time of the ceremony was subsequently spread to cover his seat in the war-chariot, which was therefore designated as वेयाघ्र by the force of the *vr̥tti* explained by Pāṇini as परिवृतो रथः (IV. 2. 10).

Besides the references to the वेयाघ्र chariots in the Mahājanaka-jātaka (Vol. VI, pp. 48-50) and the Vessantarajātaka (Vol. VI, pp. 503-504) I have come across to two more references in the Epics themselves. We read in the Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma mounts the वेयाघ्र chariot when he leaves his palace with Sumantra to see king Daśaratha before his selection as *Yuvarāja* :

ततः पावकसंकाशमारुरोह रथोत्तमम् ।

वेयाघ्रं पुरुषव्याघ्रो राजितं राजनन्दनः ॥

(Ayodhyā, 16. 28)

The other reference is from the Sabhā-parvan, 54. 4 —

अयं सहस्रसमितो वेयाघ्रः सुप्रवर्तितः ।

सुचक्रोपस्करः श्रीमान् किकिणीजालमंडितः ॥ ४ ॥

संज्ञादनो राजरथो य इहास्मानुपावहत् ।

जैत्रां रथवरः पुण्यो मेघसागरनिःस्वनः ॥ ५ ॥

This records the fact that the वेयाघ्र chariot of युधिष्ठिर cost one thousand. The figure 1000 standing above should be taken to imply 1000 silver Kāṣāpāṇas. This is supported both from the Pali and Sanskrit literatures. 'Quite in keeping with this is the fact that in early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of Kāṣāpāṇa being understood as is quite clear by its occasional mention. Kāṣāpāṇa was, therefore, looked upon as the standard

coin'. [D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 79]. In Pāṇini sūtras V. 1. 27 and 29, *sahasra* stands for 1000 Kārsāpanas.

The epic expression सहस्रसमित requires explanation. It is to be understood in the light of the sūtra सहस्रसमितौ चः (IV. 4. 135), that which is equal to one thousand is सहस्रसमित (Kāśikā, समित-स्तुत्यः सदृशः). Strangely enough both for Pāṇini's sūtra and for the epic verse the variant reading सहस्रसमित is recorded :

केचिन्नु समिताविति पठन्ति । तत्रापि समित्या समित एव लक्षयितव्यः । तत्र छन्दसि प्रयोगदर्शनात् । (Kāśikā), i. e. some read समित instead of समित, but the meaning will be the same as that of समित. In the Epic the reading समित in this place is very feebly supported by a couple of Mss. only, but in the Anuśāsanaparvan in a similar context (not yet critically) edited we have the vulgate reading समित—

शतेन निष्कगणितं सहस्रेण च समितं । 93. 43.

i. e. each udumbara fruit filled with a nugget of gold was equal to 100 niskas or 100 Kārsāpanas. Here metrically समित appears to be the correct reading in case the text be not interpolated.

Incidentally the above passage of the Anuśāsana is also important for giving as the numismatic ratio between one niska of gold and one kārsāpana of silver, the latter being one-tenth of the former in value.

3. पूर्वयायात and उत्तरयायात legends

In Mahābhārata Notes-I, it has been pointed out in another connection that the Kāśikā quoting most probably an old मूर्धाभिषिक्त illustration on Pāṇini VI. 2. 103 (दिक् शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानरादेषु) refers to पूर्व यायातं and उत्तर यायातम् (p. 284). Now I find that these names for the two parts of the Yayāti legend are authenticated by the Critical edition itself. The chs. 71-80 of the Ādi dealing with Yayāti's casting off his old age in exchange for the youth of his son, his marriage and begetting sons are called पूर्वयायात, the colophon at the end being पूर्वयायातं समाप्तं. Similarly the chs. 81-88 narrating the story of Yayāti's fall from heaven and his reascension constitute the उत्तर यायात portion finishing with the colophon उत्तरयायातं समाप्तं (p. 389 of Critical Edition). The text also names it as the उत्तरकथा of ययाति cycle :

हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि ययातिरुत्तरां कथाम् ।

दिवि चेह च पुण्यार्था सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम् ॥ 81. 9.

The उत्तरयायात begins and also ends with a फलश्रुति which is a sure sign of its once having an independent existence. It appears to be the traditional example of Pāṇini's sūtra (VI. 2. 103) as suggested by Patañjali quoting it on a vārttika to sūtra IV. 2. 60 in exemplifying *ākhyānas*, and it may thus be inferred that the Yayāti legend before its being incorporated into the bulk of the Epic possessed an entity of its own and was being independently made a subject of study by reciters designated as the यायातृकः. Its floating existence is attested to by its forming part also of the Matsya Purāṇa, chs. 36-42.

4. प्रवेरिता

In reply to an enquiry about the grammatical derivation of the word प्रवेरिता, Dr. Sukthankar wrote to me :

'The word *praveritā* in 1. 68. 73 is no doubt difficult and has not been satisfactorily explained so far. The word occurs about half a dozen times in Mahābhārata, and its meaning is also certain. It is a *lect. diff.*, as shown by the variants *visarjitā*, *nirākṛtā*, *pravasitā*, *pravesitā* etc. There is as far as I know no corresponding root in Sanskrit: Nilakanṭha (to Mahābhārata 1. 19. 24 Bombay edition) derives it as: *pra* + (*a*)*va* + *īritā*, with elision of *a* of *ava*, according to Bhāguri (अव उपसर्गस्य भागुरिमेन अकारलोपः). Do include it in the next instalments of your Mahābhārata notes. It would be interesting to have your explanation.'¹

The Ādi-parvan verse is as follows —

मेनका निरनुक्रोशा बन्धकी जननी तव ।

यया हिमवतः पृष्ठे निर्माल्येव प्रवेरिता ॥ 68. 73. Poona Edition.

The other references² are :

(1) वीर्यामर्षप्रवेरिते: (Bhīṣma. 108. 31.).

(2) भीष्मबाहुप्रवेरिताम् (Bhīṣma. 119. 30.).

¹ Letter No. Mbh. 4826 of 1942-43, dated October 27, 1942.

² For these I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, General Editor, Mahābhārata. All these references are from the Vulgate—Bombay edition, published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona.

(3) तां शस्त्रवृष्टिमतुलां द्विपहस्तैः प्रवेरिताम् । (Karpā. 81. 13.).

(4) पपात चांचैरमरप्रवेरितं विचित्रपुष्पोत्करवर्षमुत्तमम् ।

(Śālya. 57. 68.).

(5) मेदोरुधिरयुक्तैश्च च्छिन्नबाहूरुपाणिभिः ।

निकृत्तोदरपादैश्च तत्र तत्र प्रवेरितैः ॥ (Svargā. 2. 21.).

The meaning which satisfies all these contexts is undoubted, viz. 'thrown about, cast hither and thither, cast away'. In the Ādi. itself (68. 69) we have an indication of its meaning—अवकीर्णं च मां याता परात्मजमिवास्ती । Now I must admit that I am unable to offer any natural grammatical explanation of the word प्रवेरिता, but I feel certain in connecting it with the dialectical Hindi root पवेहना, to scatter, to sow seed by throwing, also written पवेरना = छितरा कर बीज बोना (*Hindīśabdasāgara*, p. 2039-40); from it पवेरा (verbal noun) = the act of sowing seed with the hand (Platt's *Hindustani Dict.*, p. 282), also called पवेड़ की बुआई, and same as चखेर or छोट्टा. ¹ It appears that in the old spoken Sanskrit (Bhāṣā) there was a root from which प्रवेरिता was derived and which has now survived in the current dialects. In Hindi we get another connected root पँवारना having the sense खेत में छितराकर बीज बोना, (*Hindīśabdasāgara*, p. 2038), used in classical Hindi in the poetry of Jāyasi (कँकन कर इक आदि पवारा, p. 222 of Shukla's edition) and Tulasi (कछु अंगद प्रभु पास पँवारे). The personal name पँवारू given to a male child who after its birth is cast away by the mother and then repicked to ward off evil omens (cf. similar names as फिक्र, बहाऊ, छाहू, सोलु from सोलु धात्वादेश for क्षिप्, जैन पुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह p. 179-180), is from the same root, of which the original was surely connected with प्रवेरित.

5. महापराह्णे

In the Critical edition of the Ādi-parvan (181. 40) occurs the following verse :

महत्यथापराह्णे तु घनेः सूर्य इवावृतः ।

ब्राह्मणेः प्राविशत्तत्र जिष्णुर्ब्रह्मपुरस्कृतः ॥

In the above महति अपराह्णे ('on the great after-noon'), though apparently not presenting any difficulty, is an instance of a very refractory text which has never been satisfactorily explained.

⁶ In the agricultural glossary of Meerut there are the five kinds of sowing seed (1) कै (2) बुर्गी (3) पवेड़ (4) चोबली (5) गाहन.

The attempted simplification by substituting भवत्यथापराह्णे (N3 Da Mss.) is extremely poor and the other readings recorded in Critical apparatus (महान्यथा⁰; अथन्यथा⁰; महताथ वरांराहा) are worthless. The original reading is absolutely certain supported by all the versions and good manuscripts. The meaning of the śloka is that while Kuntī was cast into deep anxiety about the safety of the Pāṇḍava princes who had gone to attend the Svayamvara ceremony of Draupadī and who were delayed there beyond reasonable time, Arjuna entered the house surrounded by the Brāhmanas, like the sun surrounded by the clouds on the great Aparāhṇa day. The question is whether the phrase denotes any and every afternoon as is usually understood, or any particular 'afternoon' in the year? It is obvious the point of comparison can hold good, not on all days of the year, but only in the rainy season. The Brāhmanas clad in black antelope skins (रौरवाजिनवासिभिः, Ādi. 181. 35) overshadowed Arjuna who was putting on a कृष्णाजिन (185. 2) in the same manner as masses of dark clouds cover the sun. What was this महापराह्ण day of the rainy season which suggested itself to the mind of the poet in preference to all other similar days?

An answer to the question can perhaps be given with some certainty. According to Kautilya the आषाढी day, i. e. the full-moon day in Āśāḍha was the last day of the govt. financial year (कर्म संचत्सरः । तमाषाढीपर्यवसानं etc. Arth. text, p.63). 'On the Āśāḍhi day must all the accounts be presented by the various departments (गणनिक्रयानि आषाढीमागच्छेयुः, Arthasāstra p. 64) to the Accountant General whose duty it was to hear the totals (अग्र) of the receipts and expenditure (आय-व्यय) and of the net revenue (नीवि) and also to receive into Government treasury the net balance of the *nivi* (आयव्ययनीविनामग्राणि श्रुत्वा नीविमवहारयेत्, ibid. p. 64). The आषाढी was the most important day of the fiscal year for transacting many outstanding items of business and closure of balances. The offices and Government account-books on this day had to be kept open for a much longer period than was usual. The आषाढी day is also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa as the day on which the king had to apply closure to all departmental business (of the year) and finished receiving all kinds of goods and stocks for his stores department :

निवृत्तकर्मायतनो नूनं संचितसंचयः ।
आषाढीमभ्युपगतो भरतः कोशलाधिपः ॥

(Kiskindhā, 28. 55)

While witnessing the beauties of the rainy season Rāma's thoughts go out from his immediate environs on the Mālyavat hill to Bharata's administrative routine in Ayodhyā and naturally he thinks of the closing business transactions of the fiscal year (कर्मसंवत्सर) and of the collecting of cereal stores proper to the Āṣāḍhī day.

The next day after the Āṣāḍhī would be the new year's day coinciding with first day of Śrāvaṇa. Dr. Shamaśāstri has shown that *Vyūṣṭa* in the Arthaśāstra denoted the new year's day which was the first day of the financial year commencing just after the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha (Arth. Trans. pp. 59, 64 and Preface, xxiv; also his paper *Vyūṣṭi* or the Vedic new year's Day in the Proceedings of the 2nd Oriental Conference). The *Sūryaprajñapti* records in words of undoubted meaning that the new year began with the longest day in the month of Śrāvaṇa (Proc. 2nd Oriental Conf. p. 38). This longest day seems to have unmistakable reference to the महापराह्ण day which beginning from the morning of the आषाढी day was reckoned upto the morning of the व्युष्ट day, and was in this manner literally the 'great afternoon' day.

The Epic reference to the महापराह्ण finds striking corroboration from Pāṇini. Sūtra VI. 2. 38 regulates the accent of the first portion of the following words—viz. महात्रीहि, महापराह्ण, महावृष्टि, महेश्वास, महाजावाल, महाभार, महाभारत, महाहैलिहिल, महारौरव and महाप्रवृद्ध. Each one of these, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ was a term, not of general application, but of specific meaning. Pāṇini also records another word for the closing day of the year viz. संवत्सरतम (V. 2. 57). His reference to the Vyūṣṭa day (V. 1. 97, व्युष्टादिभ्योऽणर) is of deeper significance in connection with the महापराह्ण reference. The derivative word वेयुष्ट denoted payments made on the व्युष्ट day as also the body of transactions or work disposed on that date (तत्र च दीयते, तत्र च कार्ये, V. 1. 96). From the nature of the meanings taught in the Aṣṭādhyāyī there seem to

¹ My thesis entitled *Pāṇini as a source of Indian History*.

be strong reasons for the belief that he was using *व्युष्ट* in a special sense which is identical with that of the *Arthasāstra*, i. e. the New Year's Day. The Head of the Accounts Department caused to be checked and verified the total receipts and expenditure and the net revenue of the closing year and this transaction would appropriately be termed *वैयुष्ट कार्य* or *वैयुष्ट* payments. The span of the *आषाढी* day would conveniently extend into the dawn of the *व्युष्ट* day for the terminal entries of the year and the heads of the ledgers would be kept open for much longer hours on this day. Thus although not the longest day of the year in the number of hours between sunrise and sunset, the *महापराह्न* day would be considered virtually the longest accounting day in the whole year and thus only its appellation of 'the great afternoon' be justified.

For our passage in the *Mahābhārata* (1. 181. 40) the meaning that would suit in the context would be: As on the last day in the month of *Āṣāḍha* the sun is overcast by clouds, so was Arjuna overshadowed by the accompanying *Brāhmaṇas* clad in black skin.

6. Prati as the Name of a Coin

§ (a) *Mahābhārata* evidence

The word *prati* as the name of a Coin is of rare occurrence in literature. One instance of its literary use is recorded and that in the following verse from the *Mahābhārata*:

कच्चिद्वीजं च भक्तं च कर्षकायावसीदते ।

प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददास्युणमनुग्रहम् ॥

The verse is found in the *Nārada Rājantī* questions put to king *Yudhiṣṭhira* in the beginning of the *Sabhāparvan* (5.68). The correct rendering is as follows:—

'Do you distribute seed and food to your peasantry in distress, and do you advance agricultural relief loans to them at the concession rate of one *Prati* for each one hundred *Kārṣāpīṇas* ?'

The variant readings given in the Poona Critical edition are (1) प्रत्येकं, (2) पादिकं, (3) पंचकं (4) प्रतिशक्तं and (5) प्रतिगुंजाशतं. The last three are extremely corrupt and hardly worth considering. The first two are accepted by the well-known commentator *Nilakaṇṭha*. He gives *pratyekam* as the Vulgate text (for the *Pratikam* of the critical edition) and explains it as implying loans at 1% of interest. His alternative reading *pāḍham* is

explained as referring to an annual increase of one-fourth, i. e., Rs. 25/- for each hundred, which works out to an interest of a little over 2%. He further adds that 1% rate was for secured loans and that of 2% and a little more for unsecured loans. The explanation appears laboured and removed from the spirit of the original text. Although by his meaning of *pratyekam* Nilakanṭha arrives at the same rate of interest, (i. e. 1%) as that of *pratīkam* we must emphasise that *pratīkam* is the older and genuine reading for which not only the testimony of best Mbh. manuscripts is our guide but also the older grammatical tradition in which is preserved the correct interpretation of the word *pratīka*.

§ (b) *Evidence from grammatical literature*

This earliest use of प्रति is recorded by Kātyāyana in grammatical literature. On Pāṇini V. I. 25 (कंसाद् टिट्ठ्) there is a Vārttika, कार्षापणाद्वा प्रतिश्च, with the following *Bhāṣya*—

कार्षापणाद्विट्ठ् प्रत्ययो वा च प्रतिरादेशो वक्तव्यः ।

कार्षापणिकः कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिकः प्रतिकी ।

(Kielhorn II. 347).

It means that *prati* is the substitute for the coin named *kārṣāpaṇa* and the suffix *ṭiṭhan* is added both from the word *kārṣāpaṇa* and from *prati* to denote the various meanings, such as ' purchased for ' (तेन क्रीतम्), ' so much interest, income, profit, total-tax or bribe paid on it ' (तदस्मिन् वृद्ध्यायलाभमुत्क्रोपदा दीयते, Aṣṭādhyāyī, V. I. 47). Thus *pratīka* would signify a transaction in which one *kārṣāpaṇa* or silver punch-marked coin was paid as the purchase money or interest etc.

This is the simple and natural explanation and in the light of this we may understand प्रतिकं शतम् as an amount of one hundred silver *Kārṣāpaṇas* on which one *Prati* was accruing as monthly interest, i. e. at 12 p. c. per annum. Nārada calls this as the concession rate charged on relief loans advanced by government. The higher rates of interest recorded in law-books for various classes of transactions range from 2, 3 to 4, 5 per cent. Where *Prati* means a *Kārṣāpaṇa* the *śatam* or hundred also has reference to the *Kārṣāpaṇa* coins. We find that in ancient literature when merely the figures were mentioned without specifying the name of the coin generally the standard silver punch-marked coin or

the *Kārṣāpaṇa* was intended which was the prevailing currency. In Pāṇini sūtras V. 1. 21 (शताच्च टन् यतावशते) and V. 1. 34 (षण्णपाद-माषशतायत) the *Kārṣāpaṇa* coins are implied by the mere mention of the figure 100. In early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of *Kārṣāpaṇa* being understood, which was looked upon as the standard coin. (Bhandarkar, Ancient Indian Numismatics p. 79).

§ (c) Epigraphic evidence

It is a matter of extreme good luck, that we have reliable epigraphic evidence of the use of *Prati* as a current coin name in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions of *Uṣavādāta*, son-in-law of King Nahapāna. Nahapāna belonged to the earlier wave of Śaka invasion under the Kṣaharāta branch who became masters of Western India and Ujjain in the first century B. C. In inscription no. 12, it is stated that *Uṣavadāta* gave a perpetual endowment of 3,000 *Kāhāpaṇas* for the benefit of the Saṅgha, and invested them with two guilds, two thousand in a Weavers guild, interest one *Pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, and one thousand in another Weavers guild, interest three quarters of a *Paḍika* (monthly) for the hundred. These *Kāhāpaṇas* were not to be repaid, their interest only was to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand (2000) at one *Pratika* per cent provided the cloth money at twelve *Kāhāpaṇas* to every one of the twenty monks. From the sum of the thousand (1000) - invested at an interest of three-quarters *Pratika* per cent, the pocket money was to be paid to the monks.

In the above extract we have use of the technical terms *Vṛddhi* (interest), *Kāhāpaṇa* and *Pratika* and the interpretations are perfectly clear. The formula *Vṛddhi Paḍika Sata* is identical with that used in the Mahābhārata passage *Pratikam ca Śatam vṛddhyā*. Both have the same meaning i. e. the amount of one hundred *Kārṣāpaṇa* coins fetching an interest of one *Kārṣāpaṇa*, i. e. one per cent monthly (*Ep. Ind.* Vol VIII, pp. 82-83, Nasik Cave Inscriptions).

In the Kanheri cave inscription no. 15 also there is a reference to an endowment of two hundred *Kārṣāpaṇas* at *Pratika*

rate of interest i. e. one Kārṣāpaṇa per cent per month (अखयनिवि दता काहापणानि सतानि वे २०० सघस येव हटे पडिके सते.)

Burgess, *Arch. Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 79-80. The inscription is dated in the reign of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who who was a contemporary of Nahapāna.

§ (d) *Chronological considerations*

The literary and epigraphic references to the coin called *Prati* point to some important chronological considerations as regards the date of the Mahābhārata passage in which the word occurs. Pāṇini mentions only the name *Kārṣāpaṇa* for the standard silver punch-marked coin of his days. The word *Prati* as a substitute for *Kārṣāpaṇa* was unknown to Pāṇini (cir. 5th century B. C.) and it occurs for the first time in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana (circa fourth century B.C.) It appears from the testimony of the Cave inscriptions cited above that *Prati* was a current coin name for the *Kārṣāpaṇa* up to the end of the first century B. C., the rate of interest being very often expressed in terms of the *Prati* coin. The Mahābhārata chapter containing the Nārada Rājantī should therefore be assigned to a period between the fourth and the first century B. C. It is a text dealing with those subjects of law and polity which Dr. Sukthankar rightly considers to have been grafted on the original text of the Mahābhārata under the influence of the Bhṛguś. Possibly this chapter, did not form part of the epic as it was constituted under the name of Bhārata. The position seems to have been that the *Nīti* portions were existing independently out of the orbit of the original Bhārata text and at some favourable time the Bhṛguś incorporated them along with the Ākhyānas into the epic which emerged as the Mahābhārata as a result of this inflation. The two limits of this literary *diakinesis* appear on the basis of the very solid evidence supplied by the references to the *Prati* coin in Kātyāyana's Vārttikas on the one hand and the cave inscriptions on the other, to fall within the narrow period of about three centuries, from the fourth to the first century B. C. The probability is that the date for the introduction of this particular chapter in the epic text is nearer the earlier limit than the later. This is also confirmed by the occurrence in this context of

several other technical terms as *Lava* and *Muṣṭi* (*Sabhāparvan*, 5. 54) which are peculiarly Kāṭilyan and have been used in the *Arthasāstra* (IX. 1), a treatise of the Maurya period.

Post-script

Doctor F. Edgerton who has edited the critical edition of the *Sabhā-parvan* translates *Pratikam* as “ apiece ” (Sukthankar Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, page 11). This would mean that King Yudhiṣṭhira advanced the sum of one hundred *Kāṣṭhāpanas* to each individual farmer which on the face of it is improbable. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*, to whom I communicated the interpretation of *Pratikam śatām* set forth in this paper kindly wrote to me : “ In my addition to Edgerton’s Addenda et Corrigenda I had already given the correct sense of the word by inserting a note which I am copying for you.

Devabodha’s explanation runs thus : शतं प्रति एकैकं प्रतिकम्, अथवा कं शिरः प्रति प्रतिकं प्रतिपुरुषमित्यर्थः । His alternative explanation which favours the rendering “ apiece ” ignores the current idiomatic use of *प्रतिकं*, which seems to underlie his first explanation, and to which Kāṭyāyana had drawn attention in his second *Vārttika* to Pāṇini 5. 1. 25. The word *वृद्धि* is explained as उत्तमर्णेन मूलातिरिक्तं ग्राह्यम् i. e., the ‘ interest ’. This hundred which is to be given as a ‘ relief ’ loan *deserves* only one (*Kāṣṭhāpana*) as interest, and that is the main point, and not the giving of only one hundred to each needy farmer. “ *Pratikam* ” therefore means “ *Kāṣṭhāpanikam* ”, and this sense of the word is already registered in PW. ”

I am grateful to Dr. Belvalkar for this information. The interpretation of the coin name *Prati* suggested itself independently to both of us against the same grammatical background.

MISCELLANEA

BHĀLUŚĀLIKA OR BHĀṆḌAŚĀLIKA ?

BY

LOKESH

In the Silver Jubilee Volume (XXIII) of the Annals, Prof. V. V. Mirashi quotes the colophon of a Nepalese MS. of the Rāmāyaṇa on p. 293 in the course of his discussion on " Gāṅgeya-deva of Tirabhukti ". This colophon was deciphered by Bendall, whose faulty reading has been noticed by Prof. Mirashi in his article. In the colophon occurs a word which has been read by Bendall as *bhāṇcu-śālika* and *bhālu-śālika* by Prof. Mirashi. Both of these readings are wrong, and it is strange that Prof. Mirashi should have passed over this word even without putting a question-mark besides it. This is perhaps due to its having been considered a ' phonetic improvement ' on Bendall's reading, i. e., its sounding like a Sanskrit word !! Neither of the readings conveys any sense, which is essential to ensure their correctness. Moreover, in the entire manuscript the letter *lu* is never written in the way as it is in this word, wrongly deciphered as, *bhālu-śālika*. Further, the letter closely resembles, and is identical with, the letter -*ṇḍ*- in *paṇḍita* which occurs just a little further (folio. 376 of the MS.). It has only become slightly blurred and hence has evaded the attention of previous scholars as being -*ṇḍa*. The reading with -*ṇḍa* has been adopted in " Āli-kālibijahāram (A Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian Abecedarium) " by the versatile scholar Dr. Raghu Vira, where the photograph and Devanāgarī transcription of the passage under consideration have been given on account of their close resemblance to the Lantsha script of the abecedarium. The correct reading of the word would be भाण्डशालिक " an official connected with the भाण्डशाला ", and not भालुशालिक.

A NOTE ON THE A. CHESTER BEATTY COLLECTION

BY

G. H. Khare

Very recently I had an occasion to turn the pages of the three volumes of the monumental work¹ dealing with the collection of miniature paintings etc. from the library of Mr. A. Chester Beatty. On plate 68 of the third volume is reproduced a miniature painting of the saint Shāh Dawlah the resident of Gujarat (Punjab). The foot-line describes the miniature as ‘ The derwish Shah Dawlat by Dilwarat ’. On pp. 34, 35 of the first volume (text), this painting is described thus : ‘ (25) Plate, 68. By *Dilwarat*..... in the left hand margin of the picture is an inscription in the hand-writing of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the translation of which is : The portrait of Shaykh Dawlat, who has settled in Gujrāt, Lahore. Painted by Dilwarat ’. It is quite clear from these remarks that the name of the artist has been deciphered as Dilwarat.²

But I very much doubt it. It is well nigh impossible to make out any meaning of the word-if it can be so called-Dilwarat. The inscription is practically devoid of diacritical marks and orthographical points ; for only three letters possess orthographical points. To the rest we are to supply both according to the requirements. The last word of the inscription consists of five letters. Out of them if the first is *dāl*, the fourth must also be *dāl* ; for the forms of both the letters are identical. If these two letters are compared with the *dāl* in *dawlah* and *dar*, the identity becomes still clearer. But no doubt of any sort can be raised about their being *dāls* when those four letters are compared with the letter *re* in *dar*, *lāhūr* and *raqam*. Thus the penultimate letter in the last word must be read as *dāl* and not *re*. The second letter in

¹ The Library of A. Chester Beatty : A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures by Sir Thomas W. Arnold, revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson ; Vol. I, text, Vols. II & III, plates, London, 1935.

² The whole inscription in the margin runs thus : Shabih Shaikh Dawlah kah dar Gujrāt Lāhūr mibāshad (?) raqam Dilwarat (Devadatta).

the same word can as well be read as *yāy*. *Yāy* occurs in three more words in the inscription; but its points are nowhere indicated. I, therefore, decipher the last word as Devdat (Devadatta). It was a very common personal name in old days and the word carries meaning.

In the left hand portion of the border of the frontispiece to the third volume, I find the words '*Amal-i-Harīf*', indicating the name of the artist who executed the border. But this has not been mentioned in the text.

The foot-line to pl. 40 (b) as also the text gives the name of the artist as *Kamālī Jibillāh*. I am doubtful of the second word. It has no meaning. It can be read as Jaisukha with some difficulty and then will carry meaning.

Pl. 41 (a) has something like '*Amal-i-Imām qulī*' at the bottom. But neither the foot-line nor the text refers to this inscription which gives the name of the artist.¹

¹ As far as I know nobody has referred to these discrepancies and hence I felt the necessity of writing this note.

VAISYAS AND SOCIAL ORDER

BY

S. N. Tadpatrikar

“ कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् । ”

—भगवद्गीता १८.४४

A reference to lexicons will show that the word ‘go’ stands for many different things ; but curiously enough, the Mahābhārata, at Anuśāsana parva, Adhy. 6) śl. 4, gives prominence to ‘the Cow, the Earth and the Learning’, stating that the gift of either of these, brings equal merit to the donor :

तुल्यनामानि देयानि त्रीणि तुल्यफलानि च ।

सर्वकामफलानीह गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती ॥

In the Adhyāyas that follow, the sacredness of the cow is dealt with at great length, and along with the story of the King Nrga, who, in spite of his great and liberal gifts, suffered the life of a lizard, owing to a slight error in giving away to a Brāhmaṇa, another’s cow, we have also the mention of Goloka, a special world where all sorts of highest pleasure are reserved for the donor of cows (MBH. XIII. 73). We leave पृथ्वी and सरस्वती for the present, and devote our attention to the cow.

R̥gveda, does not seem to attach so much sacred value to the cow, and there the cow only counts as a means of wealth and prosperity. The Dāna-stuti hymns mention large herds of cows being given as Dakṣiṇā, to sacrificial priests, by the ruling Kings, who often performed sacrifices for their own good. These learned priests were specially called to the King’s capital, and they usually had their colonies in forest-āśramas, where they could conveniently tend their flocks of cows, and lead a peaceful and happy life. Of course, looking after the cows, as also tilling land for rearing crops for their livelihood, was quite a necessity ; but it is possible that as these colonists extended their field of activity, they found almost the whole of their time engaged in their main task - that of study and teaching of sacred lore, and कृषि and गोरक्ष्य gradually passed into the hands of their dependents and followers. These first consisted only of students, who, studying under their teachers, were asked to do these duties of farming, cow-tending and the like. The Pausya parva of the Mahābhārata gives us a concrete example of the above statement ! A teacher, Āpoda Dhaumya, had three students of whom,

one Āruṇi from Pāñcālas, was sent to construct a bund to the field—गच्छ केदारखण्डं बधान. The water was flowing out of the field and it had to be stopped; the boy, seeing no other way, laid himself in the opening, and thus prevented water from going out—the teacher, not seeing him return home, went out in search, and called the boy, who, thereupon, showed his teacher how he had bodily held up the water. Of course, Dhaumya was pleased, and granted this sincere student proficiency in Vedas, giving him the name Uddālaka Āruṇi.

Another student Upamanyu, was asked to look after the cows—वत्स उपमन्यो गा रक्षस्व. This poor, innocent boy was put to a severe test: the teacher asked him how he managed to earn a livelihood; the boy told that he begged for food; the teacher asked all the भैक्ष to be given to him, and when the boy did as he was told, the teacher kept for himself, all the provisions and sent the boy away without any means of feeding himself. Seeing, after some time, that the boy still kept in full vigor, the teacher again asked about the means, when the boy honestly told that he went a begging again; this, too, was forbidden him; then he fed himself on cow's milk, then merely on the froth of milk which the calves left on the udders of the cows, and when all these devices were proscribed by the teacher, the poor boy was obliged to eat अर्कपत्रस, which made him blind, and then, while finding his way back, fell into a ditch! Dhaumya then found him out, and after offering prayers to the Aśvins, the boy was restored to his eyesight.

The number of such students, however, was necessarily very limited and quite insufficient to cover all the activities pertaining to farming and cows; and help from others—इतरै—was often sought to look after these works efficiently. These others, were of course, as their very name indicates, not of the Aryan fold, and were secured from the numerous inhabitants residing in the jungles, near by. They were treated most kindly, were also initiated into the sacred Vedic traditions, and some few of them really proved most apt and capable students—an instance of such exceptional talent we find, in the name ऐतरेय, a son of इतरा—from the other's class; this ऐतरेय has a ब्राह्मण, and आरण्यक to his credit!

But most of these un-Aryans were not able to pick up the learning of their teachers and after their initiation, only did their duty of कृषि and गोरक्ष्य, honestly. So that the exception of ऐतरेय only proves the rule: that all of them were initiated into the Vedic fold, and attached to the duty of farming and tending the cows. These, to my mind, formed the विशः the masses, the people, the settlers of the land, and the class—name वैश्य was subsequently brought into use, as applicable to these people. The learned authors of the Vedic Index state that the meaning of this term is 'doubtful' if the above time of thinking be accepted, some light, it is hoped, may hereby serve to dispel the 'doubts' about the meaning of the terms.

Another point in this connection, is that the four Varnas are given their particular distinguishing colours, - actual physical colors, not due to the mixture or predominance of the three guṇas as commentators would have us believe. Mahābhārata, Śānti, 188. 5 has

ब्राह्मणानां सितो वर्णः क्षत्रियाणां तु लोहितः ।
वैश्यानां पीतको वर्णः शूद्राणामसितस्तथा ॥

and Nilakapṭha, the commentator explains this वर्ण as - सितः स्वच्छः सत्त्वगुणः लोहितो रजोगुणः पीतकः रजस्तमोऽयामिश्रः असितः कृष्णः तमोगुणः. A still curious statement is found further on at śloka 10 ff. where, the sage Bhṛgu tells भरद्वाज that all men were of equal status - द्विजाः - at first; but subsequently fell into Varṇa division according to their particular activities inspired by particular guṇas; कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गताः ।

The late Mr. Visvanath K. Rajawade, a well known scholar of Maratha history, gives (at p. 140) in his Marathi introduction to राधामाधवाविलासचम्पू, his own theory about the चातुर्वर्ण्य basing his social history mostly on Pāṇini's grammar and Vedic literature :- " Even before the oldest of Rgvedic hymns was ever composed, Brāhmaṇa was the only party in society; he was of a bright white colour, physically, while mentally tending towards high thoughts about God and soul. These Brāhmaṇa Āryas came southwards, and met, on the Pamir plateau, in central Asia, the red-skinned, brave and hardy Kṣatriyas, who are, in Aitareya Āraṇyaka, aptly compared with the Tiger of the jungle ! — क्षत्रं वा एतद् आरण्यकानां पशूनां यद् व्याघ्रः । Brāhmaṇas being intellectually

superior, could easily influence these brave people, and the two joining hands to make a common cause, brought into existence, the most powerful organisation, that of ब्रह्मक्षत्र, which is, so often mentioned in our ancient literature. These combined people soon came across some yellow tribes who, though not warlike, were well versed in कृषि, गोरक्ष and वाणिज्य, prominent activities of peace time. These were given the name विश्व, and they might be of the same stock as the Phoenicians or Punics of the Romans, the Panis of Rgveda, from the west; or they might have been some offshoots of the yellow races of East Asia. Anyway, these yellow people were absorbed in the common Aryan fold, and thus was created the distinguished वैश्य of Vedic times!

These three groups, amicably cooperating among themselves, gradually occupied the southern parts consisting of Uttara Kuru. Hiranmaya, Ilāvṛta etc. They met the dark-skinned śūdras in Uttarakuru, and Uttaramadra, north of the Himālayas, and it was in these parts that the चातुर्वर्ण्य was regularly organised, and a complete society established. This organisation continued to be in force, as these people advanced further south, across the Himālayas and established themselves in different parts of the Indian continent.

This theory about the formation of चातुर्वर्ण्य, being discussed in a Marathi book, has not received the attention of scholars. It might be objected that it is only a subjective theory, but if we consider the matter without any bias, we shall have to admit that all such theories regarding society of Vedic or even pre-Vedic times, are bound to be more or less subjective, and when no definite conclusion can be drawn about these doubtful matters, this theory of the late Mr. Rajawade, may be taken into consideration, when studying the history of those hoary ancient times.

In the limited space of the present article, it is not possible to discuss all the points at any length; and I propose now, to lay here, for the consideration of interested students, a rough outline of my own views, on this subject:

To my mind, the first two Varnas, ब्राह्मण and क्षत्रिय come from one common stock—the Aryans, who came from somewhere in the North, and occupied the regions first around the Caspian—

कश्यप (?)—Sea, and then in parts of Central Asia. While forming fresh colonies in strange lands ब्राह्मण formed the penetrating wedge-दुखं-while their brothers, the hardy and brave क्षत्रिय, protected them on both sides, thus forming the बाहु of this social विराट पुरुष ! Both these activities required equal daring, and both having common interests at heart, there was perfect co-operation between these two Varnas. This policy of 'peaceful penetration' into new adjoining territories, was carefully followed by these Aryan settlers, even after they had successfully occupied the Northern part of India. They—i. e. the Brāhmaṇa ṛsis, with their followers—had their colonies in the दण्डकारण्य, where they had to meet the राक्षस class, and the clash between the two, or more properly, the persecution of these peace-loving Brāhmaṇas, led to the attack from the क्षत्रिय rulers, who were the patrons of these colonists. The motive underlying this clash and subsequent attack can be clear, when we take into consideration the point that if these ṛsis only wanted peaceful habitations in solitude, they could very well have settled in the territory of their क्षत्रिय patrons. And it was mainly on account of this daring missionary spirit of the ब्राह्मण, that they commanded special respect and careful attention of their क्षत्रिय rulers. The ब्रह्मक्षत्र was thus a most powerful organisation of the Aryans, and it enabled them to extend their settlements all over the wide expanse of the then known earth.

These same people, had among themselves, some who possessed neither of these qualities necessary for a ब्राह्मण or a क्षत्रिय ; and it was quite natural ; you can not expect all people to be of the same calibre. So these third-class men formed the ordinary stock having nothing to lead, but simply to obey the orders of the leaders ; and this third-class continued to be greatly added to as the colonies extended over larger regions, where the indigenous people who were meek and sub-missive, were easily absorbed, and thus the whole mass formed the विशः, a class, who were engaged in peaceful pursuits of social good, those of रुषि and गोरक्ष.

For centuries together, this classification was not strict, and the three classes were equally privileged to take part in all the religious activities ; but subsequently, a large split came among

these Aryan settlers on the Caspian, and while a part of these continued to stay there--afterwards going South into *IRAN*—another section moved East and came to the highlands of Central Asia, where they met, and absorbed among themselves, the meek yellow people who found places in the third and general class, that of विशः, the dark skinned द्रव्य were probably the aborigines of the Indian soil, who could not be so easily captured, and these—दर्य of Rgveda—continued to trouble the settlers, for a long time, and even after their subjugation, were kept at arm's distance, being asked to do only menial labour, but in no way allowed to mix with the Aryan people, in social or religious functions. The yellow and dark colours are thus accounted for; stirring passions change white to red; so we may take the red colour of Kṣatriyas, as a mark of passionate temper and of bravery, the original colour being the same—white—as that of the Brāhmanas. This original white colour is still conspicuous among our Parsi brothers, these who had settled in Iran, south of the Caspian Sea.

The addition of वाणिज्य—trade—to कृषि and गोरक्ष, fell to the lot of the वैश्य, as the people had settled in social life, cities and villages came to be built properly, and inter-communication became a regular need of society, and state. On account of their occupation as a class, वैश्य came into contact with the शूद्र, while the two uppers forming the head and arms of society, sometimes indulged in a contest for supremacy, as references to such incidents are found in Epic and Puranic sources. But as long as the ब्राह्मण was useful as a daring leader in extending the Arya-nisation of the whole land, so long the क्षत्रिय rulers were eager and careful to keep the good will of this self-less class; and it was only when the ब्राह्मण had left nothing of this sort to do, and wanted to assert his superiority merely on the strength of his religion and philosophy, that the people, especially the ruling class, showing their unwillingness to submit, came into clash; but all through these conflicts between ब्राह्मण and क्षत्र, we have to note that the वैश्य and शूद्र, remained quite indifferent, and engaged themselves in their allotted work of कृषि, गोरक्ष and वाणिज्य. The hard and fast classification, which is referred to in the भगवद्गीता, is a development that came about at a comparatively late period, of our social history of Ancient times.

AN OPENING VERSE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

It is well-known that the opening verse in the *Mahābhārata* differs in the various recensions of the Epic-Northern and Southern and therein again in the several texts of the Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam (Kerala) versions. It would be impossible to dogmatize as to which of these versions has the imprimatur of Vyāsa himself or is the one that most faithfully represents the original version given out by him. The task of fixing the correct original *textus simplicior* of the Epic must be left an open one or perhaps to specialists in the field of Epic-study and criticism. The great Critical Edition of the Epic taken up by the Bhandarkar Institute may be expected to solve the question provided all the manuscript materials are tapped which does not seem still to be the case. My task in this paper is but a very modest one of bringing to the notice of scholars and students of the Epic, the existence of a Version (I do not go so far as to dub it a Recension) of the Epic known to and commented upon in the thirteenth century by the great Vedantic philosopher Śrī Madhvācārya and which opened with the benedictory verse :

नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं भक्तप्रियं सकललोकनमस्कृतं च ।
त्रैगुण्यवर्जितमजं विधुमायमीशं वन्दे भवघ्नममरासुरसिद्धवन्द्यम् ॥

From the evidence of Mss, let in by the Critical Edition of the Epic published by the Bhandarkar Institute, we find that the above śloka occurs in only one of the texts of the South Indian Recension—the Kerala or Malabar version and there too in only one of the three manuscripts collated (Cochin State Library No. 1). But the antiquity and genuineness of the verse itself go back to many centuries and rest upon the testimony of the *Mahābhārata-Tātparyā-Nirṇaya* an epitome, and running commentary in Sanskrit written by Śrī Madhvācārya about 1300 A.D. So far as our present knowledge goes, this commentary might claim to be the earliest dateable Sanskrit commentary on the Epic.

At the very outset of his *Tātparyanirṇaya*, Madhva says that the Epic (of course in the version that he regarded as authentic) begins with the benedictory stanza “नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं” and proceeds to comment upon this verse in his turn :

ज्ञानप्रदः स भगवान्कमलाविरिचिशर्वादिपूर्वजगतो निखिलाद्वरिष्ठः ।
भक्त्यैव तृप्यति हरिप्रवणत्वमेव सर्वस्य धर्म इति पूर्वविभागसंस्थः ॥ 59 ॥

निर्दोषकः सृतिविहीन उदारपूर्णसंविद्वृणः प्रथमकृत्सकलात्मशक्तिः ।
मोक्षैकहेतुरसरूपसुरैश्च मुक्तैर्वन्द्यः स एक इति चोक्तमथोत्तरार्धे ॥ 60 ॥

नभ्यत्वमुक्तमुभयत्र × × × ।

इत्थं हि सर्वगुणपूतिरमुष्य विष्णोः प्रस्ताविता प्रथमतः प्रतिजानतेव ॥61॥

It would be clear from the above, that the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुं could not be Madhva's own (as has been fancied by some) but that in his opinion, it goes back to the original Epic text at least according to the textual tradition inherited by him in the thirteenth century and current in that part of the country (i. e. the South Kanara district and Tulunād of which he was a native). Considering the purity and accuracy with which Kerala and its vicinities have preserved the ancient works of Sanskrit literature which have unfortunately disappeared from the other parts of India, it is not unlikely that the Kerala versions preserve much authentic materials. While it is thus indubitably true that the earliest reference to the verse “नारायणं सुरगुरुम्” is to be found in the metrical commentary of Madhvācārya, he is not certainly the author of it. He makes it clear in his commentary that he regards the verse as belonging to the original nay its very first verse. Furthermore, he is also found to quote the second quarter of this verse in his *Gītābhāṣya*, as from the *Mahābhārata* under Gītā IX. 26.

भक्तप्रियं सकललोकनमस्कृतं च इति भारते ॥ and again

केवलो निर्गुणश्च इत्यादि श्रुतिभ्यश्च । “त्रैगुण्यवर्जितम्” (Bharata)

इति चोक्तम् IX 13

And we have already seen that this verse is accepted as the opening one in one of the Mss. of the Kerala Recension of the present day. Madhva was himself a native of Tulunād which lies immediately north of Kerala proper and which is part of the

Holy Land of Paraśurāma to which the religious poet Vādirāja pays a graceful compliment :

कर्णे पदन्यस्तरुची रिरंसुवाराशिवन्नं जघनाद्दि यस्याः ।

अमृसुचद्वाणकरेण भूमेः श्रीभार्गवः सा जयति क्षितिर्नः ॥

(*Tirthaprabandha* i).

It is not unlikely that his version was in agreement in the main with the Kerala version, and the South Indian Recension, judging by the criteria proposed by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri viz., (1) the exclusion of the Gaṇeśa episode, to which there is no reference in Madhva or Vādirāja's texts (2) the inclusion of the Kaṇika episode and (3) the absence of reference to the 8800 enigmatic verses :

अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।

अहं वेद्मि शुक्रो वेत्ति सञ्जयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥

Madhva not only knew the North Indian version ; but claims to have constituted his text after a careful and critical examination of the manuscript material from different parts of the country and upon a 'higher criticism' of the text upon principles which he indicates in the prolegomena to his work. It appears from his statements that he exercised great care and caution in fixing up a Vulgate text of his own after a wide and representative collection of Mss. from different parts of India based on different Recensions. It would be well to remember in this connection that his commentary on the Epic was written by him more or less towards the closing part of his life when he had already toured the north and southern parts of India many times and built up a precious library of his own. It may be said of Madhva as of no other ancient writer that he truly and most vividly anticipated the difficulties of modern Research scholars of the Epic and may very properly be described as the pioneer of Mahābhārata text-criticism. He sounds a familiarly modern note :

कचिद्वन्थान् प्रक्षिपन्ति कचिदन्तरितानपि ।

कुरुः कचिच्च व्यत्यासं प्रमादात्कचिदन्यथा ॥ ३ ॥

अनुसन्ना अपि ग्रन्था व्याकुला इति सर्वेशः ।

देशे देशे तथा ग्रन्थान् दृष्ट्वा चैव पृथग्विधान् ॥ ७ ॥

¹ His date was antedated by three centuries by P. P. S. Sastri. For a complete criticism of P. P. S. Sastri's date and fixation of the real date of Vādirāja see my paper on his date in the Annals, B. O. R. I, Vol. XVIII, pp. 187-197.

यथा स भगवान्वासः साक्षान्नारायणः प्रभुः ।

जगाद भारतायेषु तथा वक्ष्ये तदीक्षया ॥ Mbh. TN. II. 8.

it would be obvious that a text so constituted by an ancient writer of his standing deserves greater attention from modern scholars than has been bestowed upon it so far. But so far as his followers were concerned it was naturally this text that was recognised. Vādirāja one of the most eminent followers of Madhva in the sixteenth century commented upon this text in his *Lakṣālaṃkāra* and this commentary, is declared by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri to be based on the South Indian Recension published by him and follow it closely. Prof. Sastri seems further to look upon this as testifying to the authenticity and provenness of the text published by him that Vādirāja's प्रतीकः should agree with those of his text. By way of illustration of his thesis, he has published Vādirāja's commentary on the Sabhā Parva.

It may therefore be pointed out that there are fundamental deviations in Vādirāja from the S. Indian text now published by P. P. S. Sastri. The latter begins straightway without any benedictory verses (मङ्गलाचरण) with the prose text : रोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्र-श्रवा etc. The North Indian Recension begins with नारायणं¹ नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव० Prof. Sastri holds that the S. Indian Recension is right in discarding the usual stereotyped *Maṅgalācarana* and that a metrical benediction can have really no place at the commencement of the Epic. Be that as it may, the *Lakṣālaṃkāra* has a *very elaborate* commentary on नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं × × × × × which it regards as the opening benedictory verse of the Epic, following the lead of Madhva's *Tūtparyanirṇaya* in this and in other respects such as the readings of verses and the inclusion of three more benedictory verses in the beginning. It could not be otherwise seeing that Vādirāja was a faithful adherent of Madhva and claims to follow his lead :

नारायणस्य व्यासस्य मध्वस्य च कृपाबलात् ।

भारतश्लोकलक्षसालङ्कारः क्रियते मया ॥ I. ५.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri is not therefore justified in dismissing the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् + + and Vādirāja's comment on it as an

¹ " Found only in Kashmir 1.2 ; D (9. 13 missing) T1 G7 (margin) and very few of Southern Mss.—Telugu and Grantha — " (Sukthankar).

interpolation on the basis of a certain passage: 'अत एवादौ भ्रवणतो माङ्गलिकरोमहर्षणपदापादोनात् न पृथङ्मङ्गलाचरणम्" that is found in certain of the Mss. of *Lakṣālaṁkāra* under the words रोमहर्षण-पुत्र उग्रभवाः" It seems far more reasonable to reject this single line as an interpolation than to dismiss the entire and very long comment on the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम्. The very length and cogency of the passage forbids such a summary disposal. Apart from this, the *Lakṣālaṁkāra* comments next upon two other benedictory stanzas of the Epic :

कृष्णो मुक्तैरिज्यते वीतमोहैः कृष्णो यज्ञैरिज्यते सोमपूतैः ।

कृष्णो वीरैरिज्यते विक्रमद्भिः कृष्णो वन्यैरिज्यते संमुशानैः ॥

सृष्टा ब्रह्मादयो देवा निहता येन दानवाः ।

तस्मै देवाधिदेवाय नमस्ते शार्ङ्गधारिणे ॥

The comment on the first of these : इदानीं "सिद्ध" पदस्य सुष्ठुपरतां स्पष्टयन् मुक्तामुक्तसकलसज्जनपुज्यो हरिरेवेति वस्तुनिर्देशाय मङ्गलान्तरमाचरति--कृष्णो मुक्तै इति ॥ presupposes the term सिद्ध in सुरसिद्धवन्यं in the previous verse—वन्दे भवघ्नममरासुरसिद्धवन्यम् 1d. The comment on the third verse is equally significant विघ्नबाहुल्ये मङ्गलबाहुल्यमिति ध्वनयितुं मङ्गलान्तरमाचारि--'सृष्टा ब्रह्मादयो देवा' इति । अत्र सृष्टृत्वं मुक्तिसृष्टृत्वमेवाभिमतम् ।

After these elaborate comments on the opening verses Vādirāja introduces his commentary on the story proper with following remark :

अधुना कथामारभते—"रोमहर्षण पुत्र उग्रभवा " इत्यादिना ।

Here, the term अधुना is significant and presupposes the existence of some kind of benedictory verses at the outset.

II

The conclusion that Vādirāja did recognize the presence of certain benedictory verses in the beginning of the Epic and that in his opinion the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् + + + was the first of that kind is fully attested by his other work the commentary on Madhva's *Mahābhārata-tātūparyanṛṇaya* which we have already shown reads नारायणं सुरगुरुं as the first मङ्गलश्लोक of the Epic. Commenting on II. 59 of his original which runs :

ज्ञानप्रदः स भगवान् कमलाविरिचिशर्वाद्विपूर्वजगतो निखिलाद्वरिष्ठः

x

x

x

Vādirāja writes :— अष्टुना भारताद्यप्य एव सर्वोत्तमत्वादि सकलमहिम्नां निरूपितत्वाद्, उपक्रमानुसारेण ग्रन्थस्य योजनीयत्वात्, लक्षभारतवाक्यान्वयि भगवन्माहात्म्यपराणीति भावेन लोकशिक्षणाय भारतादौ विरचितं मङ्गलपद्यं पठति— नारायणं सुरगुरुं” इति । सुरगुरुमित्यस्यार्थकथनं “ कमलाविरिचिशर्वाद्विपूर्वजगतो ज्ञानप्रदः ” इति

Now, not only does Vādirāja simply comment on the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् as a matter of course; but he also deliberately raises the precise issue we are debating viz. the genuineness and authenticity of the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् in question and particularly the need for a benedictory stanza at all. It is gratifying to note that *a la* the modern critical scholar, Vādirāja points to the occurrence of this verse in manuscripts preserved in the “ Kerala and other countries ” ‘ कचिदन्तरितानपि ’ (Mbh. TN. II. 3^b) इति वचनात् इदमाद्यप्य असहमानाः केचिदादौ न लिखन्ति । केरळादिदेशस्थपुस्तकेष्वपि दृश्यते ॥

He also considers it most unlikely that Vyāsa who has incorporated benedictory verses in the beginning of the comparatively shorter works like *Bhūgavata* and *Hārivaṃśa* could have failed to do so in such a prodigious work as the *Mahābhārata* कथमन्यथा लोकाचार्यो व्यासः लक्षपरिमितं ग्रन्थं कुर्वन् ग्रन्थादौ लोकशिक्षणाय मङ्गलं न रचयेत् ? यतोऽल्पीयसि ग्रन्थे भागवते हरिवंशादौ च — ‘ सत्यं परं धीमहि ’ ‘ सोऽनादिर्वासुदेवः शमयतु दुरितं जन्मजन्मार्जितं नः ’ इति लोकशिक्षणार्थं मङ्गलमकरोत् ? अतोऽस्मिन्महाग्रन्थे सकलशिष्टानामग्रणीर्व्यासो मङ्गलमाचरेदेवेति ज्ञेयम् ॥

(Tulu Ms. Sode Mutt Udipi).

It would thus be evident that the eschewal of benedictory verses from the beginning of the *Mahābhārata* and the omission of “ नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं etc. as the first verse in this connection are sternly discountenanced by Vādirāja and that therefore no S. Indian recension that omits this verse and those that follow, would be acceptable to Madhva and Vādirāja or be recognized by them as representing the authentic (S. Indian) version. In these circumstances, it is dubious if the South Indian version published by Prof. Sastri could be made to rest on the authority of Vādirāja.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE KṚṢṆACARITA

BY

JAGAN NATH

In August 1941 Rājavaidya Jivarāma Kālidāsa of Gondāl, published, from a fragmentary manuscript of three leaves only what may be described as 'introduction' to a poetical work called the Kṛṣṇacarita attributed in the colophon to Mahārāja-dhīrāja Vikramāṅka Śrī-Samudra Gupta.

The first section of this introduction originally consisted of thirty three verses of which the first twelve are now lost and the remaining twentyone only have been preserved. In this section the author has dealt with the ancient poets whom he designated as मुनिकवयः (sage poets). In this section the following authors and works are mentioned :—

1 Śāṅkhāyana :—He wrote a poem called Kaṇṭhābharana.

2 Vararuci :— He wrote a Kāvya named Svargārohana.

3 Kātyāyana :— He not only wrote the Vārtikas on Pāṇini's Grammar, but also followed in his footsteps in writing poetry. His work is not mentioned.

4 Vyāḍi :— He is described as a poet, and philosopher of the Mīmāṃsā school. He wrote a Mahākāvya called the Bālucarita which excelled the Mahābhārata of Vyāsa.

5 Devala :— the author of Indravijaya.

6 Patañjali :— He is the author of the great commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar. He revised the Saṁhitā of Caraka, and wrote a poem called योगदर्शन containing an exposition of the Yoga system of Philosophy. This work appears to be distinct from the well known Sūtra treatise of the same name.

7 Bhāsa :— the author of a brilliant Mahākāvya, and twenty plays. He wrote a play named Vāsavadattā, and made the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata more enjoyable by dramatising their story and adding various episodes of his own making. Other poets imitated him in writing plays. He did not completely follow Pāṇini's system of grammar.

8 Vardhamāna :— the author of Bhīmajaya.

9 Cinadeva :— He was a foreigner. He wrote both in Māgadhī and Sanskrit, a poem called the Buddhacarita.

10 **Mihiradeva** :— He was a Persian. He wrote a panegyric of the god sun in one hundred *śikharinī* verses.

These are the ten sage-poets to whom the author paid his tribute, by recording their names and the works they had written.

The second section deals with the royal poets and the following names are mentioned :—

1 **Subandhu** :— He is described as a court poet of King Bindusāra whose displeasure he incurred and was thrown into the prison. By the favour of Goddess Sarasvatī, he managed to escape from the prison and went to king Vatsarāja, who gave him five villages and the hand of his sister. He wrote a poem called Vatsarājacarita, and an unnamed play.

2 **Śūdraka** :— Equal to Indra in valour, he performed an *aśvamedha* sacrifice and having overthrown the Śakas started his own era called the Vikrama era. He wrote treatises on the science of archery and steeling. He was the author of two plays. He also composed the *Mrechakatika* in nine acts. In this work he described his own exploits. This work became known as *Āryakajaya*. Having placed his son Devamitra on the throne he retired to the forest.

3 **Kālidāsa** :—At Śūdraka's court was the great poet Kālidāsa who composed a play dealing with the love romance of king Dusyanta. Besides this, he wrote three minor plays.

4 **Sūra** :— A Buddhist scholar, author of two *Mahākāvyas* the *Saunanda* and the *Buddhacarita*. His other name was Ghosa. He wrote treatises on the exposition of Buddhist doctrine. He also took part in a great congregation of Buddhist teachers.

5 **Hariścandra** :— He was the king of Pāñcāla and wrote a work called *Karṇakīrti*.

6 **Mātrgupta** :— He was not only a *Kavirāja* but also a king, who had obtained the kingdom of Kashmir through the favour of the goddess Sarasvatī.

7 **Āvantika** :— Author of *Śūdrakajaya*.

8 **Hariṣeṇa** alias Kālidāsa or Ragbukāra :— He held the exalted position of Minister of Samudragupta and was the supreme authority in matters of peace and war. He was styled *Kumārasaciva*. He acted as *Brahmā* priest at the sacrificial performances of his royal patron. He wrote the *Raghuvarṇśa* and four

ment of the two. While the author of the *Raghuvamśa* is absolutely uncommunicative about his personality—so much so that he does not mention even his name in the poem—*Harīṣeṇa* has not only mentioned his name as the author of the inscription but has also given many details about himself such as the name of his father, the name of his native place, his official title and the offices he held. Is it too much to expect that he would have himself stated that he was known as a second *Kālidāsa* if he really was?

These verses which have been passed by its author whoever he is as the introduction to the poem *Kṛṣṇacarita*, are *prima facie* a forgery, an attempt to weave the scattered information concerning ancient authors into one piece.¹ To endow it with authenticity, the name of *Samudragupta* has been invented. It is clearly intended to provide '*fresh evidence*' for solving some of the puzzles in the history of Sanskrit literature and the political history of ancient India, such as the authorship of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, the authenticity of the *Trivandrum* plays, the date of *Kālidāsa*, the origin of the *Vikarma* Era, etc. etc.

¹ The reference to the association of *Subandhu* with *Bindusāra* is to be found in the *Avantisundarikathā*; the account of *Sudraka* is taken from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* with minor additions, the mention of *Rāmila* and *Somila* is found in an oft quoted verse.

These parallellisms in thought and expression strongly indicate that the author of the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* and the *Raghuvamśa* is one and the same person. Besides these there are many other instances of the use of similar constructions and ideas to be found in the plays and the poems. For instance the poet is very fond of the construction क क. In the *Raghuvamśa* we have क सूर्यप्रमथो वंशः क चास्पविषया मतिः । In the *Meghadūta* we have धूमज्योतिः मलिलमरुतां सान्निपातः क मेषः , सन्देशार्थाः क पदुकरणैः प्राणिभिः प्रेषणीयाः । A similar construction we have in the *Śakuntalā* ; क यत हरिणकानीं जीवनं चातिलोलं, क च निशितनिपाताः वद्वसारा शरास्ते । and क वयं क परीक्षमन्मथो मृगशावैः सममेधितो जनः ॥ Again, the mention of the mango tree and the *Navamālīkā* creeper together and comparing them to a youth and a maiden is a common idea in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, as may be seen from the following instances :

मिथुनं परिकल्पितं त्वया सहकारः कलिनी च नन्विमी ।

Raghuvamśa, VIII, 61.

चूतेन संश्रितवती नवमालिकेयं । *Śakuntalā*, IV, 13.

इयं स्वयंवरवधूः सहकारस्य त्वया कृतनामधेया वनज्योत्स्नेति नवमालिका ।

Śakuntalā, I.

Further the use of the root आ √ वृज् in the sense of pouring out has been made frequently in these works :—

1. इति कलशमावर्जयति । *Śakuntalā*, I.
2. आवर्जिताष्टापदकुम्भतोयैः । *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 10.
3. त्वदावर्जितवारि संभृतम् । *Kumārasambhava*, V, 34.

The community of thought and expression between the plays and the poems, conclusively proves, that all of them are written by the same author. The suggestion of two *Kālidāsa*s, one the author of the plays and the other the author of the *Mahākāvya*s is absolutely baseless and in conflict with the evidence of the works themselves. It would not be too much to suggest that the author of this fragment has merely versified some of the recent suggestions, e. g. *Jayaśamkara Prasad*, put forward the theory of two *Kālidāsa*'s in his *Skandagupta*.

It is further to be noted that *Harīṣeṇa*, the author of the *Allahabad pillar inscription* can never be the author of the *Raghuvamśa*. There is a fundamental difference in the tempera-

Meghadūta is one and the same person. The following close similarities in thought and expression clearly prove the common authorship of the plays and poems :

1. *Sakuntalā*, II, 5.
मेदच्छेदकशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं
वपुः
मच्चानामपि लक्ष्यते विकृतिमाद्यन्ते भय-
क्रोधयोः ॥
उत्कर्षः स च धन्विनां यदिष्यः सिध्यन्ति
लक्ष्ये चले
मिश्रयैव व्यसन्ते वदन्ति मृगयामीदृग्नि-
नोदः कुतः ॥
2. *Sakuntalā*, I, 6 c and d.
मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिना-
किनम् ।
3. *Sakuntalā*, III, 10.
स्मर एव तापहेतुर्निर्वापयिता स एव मे
जातः
दिवस इवाभ्रद्वामस्तपान्यये जीवलोकस्य ॥
4. *Sakuntalā*, IV, 4 cd.
अवेहि तनयां ब्रह्मज्ञग्निगर्भां शमीमिव ।
5. *Sakuntalā*, IV, 12.
उद्गलितदर्भकवला मृगः परित्यक्तनर्तना
ममृगः ।
अवसृतपाण्डुपत्रा मुञ्चत्यश्रुणीव लताः ॥
6. *Sakuntalā*, V, 2.
रम्भाणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पयुस्तुको भवति यस्तुषितोऽपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति हूनमबोधयुक्तं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥
7. *Sakuntalā*, VII, 34.
तव भवतु विद्वैजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु
त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं प्रीणयस्व ।
युगशतपरिवर्तनेवमन्योन्यकृत्यै-
नैयतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ॥
8. *Sakuntalā*, V, 6 b.
किंश्चाति लब्धपरिपालनवृत्तिरेव ।
1. *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 49.
परिचर्यं चललक्ष्यनिपातने
भयकपोश्च तदिङ्कितबोधनम् ।
श्रमजयात् प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ
तनुमतोऽनुमतः सन्निर्वैर्ययौ ॥
2. *Raghuvamśa*, XI, 44 cd.
विद्वत्क्रतुमृगानुसारिणं येन वाणमसृजद्
वृषध्वजः ।
3. *Raghuvamśa*, X, 83.
ते प्रजानां प्रजानाथास्तेजसा प्रश्रयेण च ।
मनो जहुर्निदाघान्ते दयामाभ्रा दिवसा
इव ॥
4. *Raghuvamśa*, III, 9.
शमीमिवाभ्यन्तरलीनपावकात् ।
तृणः समच्चरं महिषीममन्यत ॥
5. *Raghuvamśa*, XIV, 69.
तृणं ममृगः क्रतुमानि वृक्षाः दर्भानुपातान्
विजहूर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासी-
द्दुहितं वनेऽपि ॥
6. *Raghuvamśa*, XI, 22.
वामनाश्रमपदं ततः परं
पावनं श्रुतमुपेक्षेयिवात् ।
उन्मनाः प्रथमजन्मचेष्टितान्य-
स्मरन्नपि बभूव राधवः ॥
7. *Raghuvamśa*, I, 26.
दुद्रोह गां स वजाय मस्याय मधवा
दिवम् ।
संपद्भिर्निमयेनोभौ दधतुर्भुवनद्वयम् ॥
8. *Raghuvamśa*, XIX, 3 a.
लब्धपालनविधौ न तत्सुतः खेदमाप ।

other minor poems. He prevailed upon the king to write the *Kṛṣṇacarita*.

The section ends with the account of these eight royal poets. In the colophon this section is designated as राजकविकीर्तन in the कथाप्रस्तावना of कृष्णचरित composed by Śrī Vikramāṅka Mahārāja-dhirāja Paramabhāgavata Śrī Samudra Gupta.

The information supplied by this manuscript is interesting, as it has the charm of novelty. Some of the names of authors and works are quite familiar, others are less commonly known like Vyāḍi, while some are altogether new. Some of the statements made in this work are in conflict with quite wellknown and well-established facts of political and literary history of ancient India. These require a careful examination.

Firstly, it has been stated about Subandhu that he fled from the imprisonment of Bindusāra and went to Vatsarāja who gave him shelter. Thus according to this work Bindusāra and Vatsarāja Udayana were contemporaries, which is an impossibility, since Udayana flourished long before the establishment of the Maurya empire. It may be argued that this Vatsarāja may not be Udayana but a different monarch of later times. But this much at least must be conceded that only an independent and powerful king could have dared to give protection to Subandhu who had incurred the displeasure of Bindusāra. Now Bindusāra was an imperial sovereign whose dominions included the whole of Northern India, and parts of the Deccan. The small kingdoms into which India had been divided in the days of Buddha, had all been swept away by the rising power of Magadha. Therefore there can be no possibility of an independent contemporary of Bindusāra, who could thus openly flout the wishes of the Maurya sovereign with impunity. We know from the Greek accounts that Bindusāra was a ruler of stern disposition who never spared his enemies as his title of *Amītrochates* shows. Therefore no vassal rulers could have dared to offend such an overlord. This statement of the present work is therefore, opposed to the facts of history.

Secondly the work mentions two Kālidāśas—one the contemporary of Śūdraka Vikramāditya and author of the plays *Śakuntalā*, etc. and the other Hariṣeṇa, the Foreign Minister of Samudragupta and the author of *Raghuvamśa* and other poems. However the internal evidence of the works themselves shows that the author of *Śakuntalā*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārsambhava* and

A NEW INTERPRETATION of the expression,
शिलाघनमध्यस्थप्रदीपसहस्रकथन, in Śaṅkara's commentary on

Br. Sū. I, ii. 28

BY

SHRINIVAS DIXIT

All the commentators and interpreters of Śaṅkara seem to have missed the real significance of this expression when they unanimously agree in interpreting it thus: "that to say an idea, like a lamp, reveals itself spontaneously without standing in need of anything else to illumine it, — it is tantamount to asserting that the idea, which no means-of-proof can ever reveal, needs also no percipient for its perception. as though a thousand lamps blazing in the interior of some rock were to make themselves manifest therein." Now what is the significance of the analogy of the lamps in the interior of a stone here? In order to understand this, let us know the drift of the passage :

The Vijñānavādin says that only ideas exist. Why? For, they alone are immediately perceived, while the objects as such being presumably of the nature of non-knowledge can never enter the field of consciousness. Whatever is known, is known, and therefore an idea, and whatever is unknown, is totally unknown, and therefore cannot be known to exist. This means the same thing as to say that the object lacking illumination (*i. e.*, a relation to consciousness or the status of being an idea, in our modern terminology) can never be known, while an idea having illumination (*i. e.* a relation to consciousness) can alone be the object of knowledge.

To this, Śaṅkara replies, even an idea must require an illumination from some external source. (The neo-realist may well understand by this that an entity becomes an idea when it enters a certain relation).

The Buddhist reply to this is: "I recognize ideas as self-luminous". This is the position that Hume had arrived at in declaring that the whole world is an unceasing flux of ideas. For, Hume also had tentatively suggested that there may be ideas which are not ideas of anybody.

Śamkara's answer to this is, शिलाघनमध्यस्थप्रदीपसहस्रकथनवत्. It is quite apt if we expand it thus: "By saying that there can be ideas without being known (अनवगन्तुकं विज्ञानं), you are taking away the very differentia of an idea. On your hypothesis everything will be an idea. But it would only mean that what we call a thing you choose to designate as an idea. But, surely, for that reason it becomes an *idle hypothesis*, as idle and barren as to hypothesize a thousand candles burning in the interior of a stone. The hypothesis makes no difference to the things that can be verified. Even if there were no lamps burning there, or there were ten thousand instead of one thousand, the things would be the same. Similarly, if there were ideas without being known, there will be no difference between our world view and your world view. The only difference is that you call the things of the world ideas and we call them objects. Then the designation 'idea' will be pointless. But there will be sense in calling the objects ideas, not at all times, but only when they receive illumination (i. e. they enter into a relation with consciousness)."

This sort of interpretation will credit Śamkara with anticipating the arguments of modern neo-realism according to which a thing becomes an idea without losing its identity as an object by entering a new relation. An object is an idea not by reason of its stuff but due to its function. Śamkara certainly, though vaguely, implies this. For, otherwise the analogy of 'unknown ideas' with 'lamps in the interior of a stone' has nothing in common. The lamps in the interior of a stone will still be lamps, while the unknown ideas will not be ideas in any significant sense. That the lamps will not illumine other objects is beside the point. That proves nothing. They will be as good lamps as any that there be. Yet this is how the expression is traditionally interpreted. On that interpretation, there is no analogy whatsoever. But by his *ut*, Śamkara clearly means an analogy.

That my meaning was implied by Śamkara is clear from the fact that he does not say that there is an analogy between the rock-hidden lamps and the unknown ideas, but between *saying* (ब्रवता) that unknown ideas exist and *telling* (कथनवत्) that a thousand lamps burn in the interior of a massive stone. The analogy is between the general character of the hypotheses as such (i. e. both of them are idle) and not between the specific assertions made therein.

That Śamkara did not much develop such a realistic flash is unfortunate. Had he done so, he would have been the founder of modern realism. For that, it would not have been necessary for him to abandon his ब्रह्मकारणवाद. Epistemological realism is quite compatible with an ontological idealism.

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